

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN QUEZON AND OSMEÑA



PREWAR TOAST

Under old chandelier, a toast by the President to his palace guests shortly before the war broke out.

In time of war, a question of leadership

by JESUS V. MERRITT

and the Constitution of the Philippines, even if I did not already have that right.

SO: I cannot agree with you on that point, Mr. President. My conviction is when we fled to the United States we took along with us the Constitution of the Philippines. If the constitutional government of the Philippines has been wiped out by the Japanese invasion, as you now maintain, under what government are we then serving in Washington? If the Constitution is inoperative, as you seem to insist, where do the power and authority we exercise as heads of the government-in-exile emanate?

Or, Mr. President, do you wish me to understand that our government-in-exile is no more than a *de facto* organ, "functioning under the toleration of the President of the United States?"

MLQ: (Visibly agitated) No. I assert that I am the constitutional President of the Commonwealth Government of the Philippines *de jure* and the Japanese military regime in the Philippines is only a *de facto* government.

SO: I am pleased to hear that, Mr. President, because it seems to me precarious to hold the theory that because the constitutional government of the Philippines was destroyed when the enemy occupied the islands and established there a military regime the operation of the commonwealth government was thereby suspended.

Those who argue (Osmeña was referring to Carlos P. Romulo, Secretary of Information and Public Relations in Quezon's Cabinet) that our Constitution was suspended would appear to be impaled upon their own argument because we are the Constitutional government of the Philippines and, therefore, it does not lie with us, to destroy the legal foundation of our existence by asking the President of the United States to consider our Constitution suspended.

MLQ: But, do you deny, Don Sergio, that the Constitution of the Philippines has become a shambles as a result of the Japanese invasion in the Philippines? Or, at least, it is in a state of suspended animation as a result of the Japanese occupation.

SO: I disagree with you, Mr. President. The Constitution of the Philippines cannot be regarded as a mere geographical expression which ceased to exist when the Japanese occupied our islands. Rather, it is a statement of living principles and fundamental rules of procedure, constituting a social compact which the Philippine people, after much thought and study, adapted as a form of organized society acceptable to them. Furthermore, the Constitution is a compact between the United States and the Philippines. It is for this reason that I regard it as a blow to the morale of the Philippine people and to the validity of our accredited Government here

to set aside the clear language and normal functioning of the Constitution on any theory whatsoever, so long as no necessity or valid reason therefore exists.

MLQ: Don Sergio, at the time the President of the United States extended to me the invitation to come to Washington, the President knew that under the terms of the Constitution, if operative, I could not hold office beyond November 15, 1943; and the President also knew even then that the Philippines could not possibly be liberated from the enemy after November 15, 1943. You know that the invitation was only extended to me and did not include the Vice-President. If under the law I were to cease and be succeeded automatically by the Vice-President on November 15, 1943, he should have invited you to come with me so that the constitutional mandate may be put into effect in due time.

SO: That is no argument at all, Mr. President.

MLQ: What would be the effect if I am replaced as President?

SO: If you are retained as President in violation of the clear mandate of the Constitution, that would be grist to the propaganda mill of the Japanese. They will attack the United States, charge the Americans of imposing upon the Filipinos a man who has no legal right to remain as President under the Constitution. They would then regard you as a US puppet.

MLQ: Sure, indeed, the Japs will attack the United States if I continue in office after the 15th of November 1943. There is nothing they will welcome better than my disappearance from the scene for they know only too well the demoralizing effect it will have upon the Filipino people. You don't seem to know that since my arrival here guerrilla commanders by means of broadcasts and radiograms sent through the War Department and General MacArthur's headquarters, have hailed the day when I return to the Philippines in triumph with the liberating forces of the United States.

Now, its effect upon the people as a whole? You know our people have been for many years supporting and following my leadership. They will be at a loss to understand how I could have been asked to come here to function as the head of my government and then dropped out upon the theory that the Philippine Constitution so requires.

SO: Mr. President, like you I can also speak with authority of considerable experience in the political life of the Philippines. I have served as Governor of Cebu and for sixteen years the recognized leader of the Filipino people and the elected Speaker of the National Assembly.

During the

President you must succeed to the office.

SO: That is correct, Mr. President. That spells out my position.

MLQ: In facing the pending problem as to who shall serve as head of the Philippine government now exiled from our country, I feel that there are two major considerations — first, a legal and constitutional question and, second, a political question.

SO: What political question do you have in mind, Mr. President?

MLQ: Why, of course, the effect of the problem of succession to the presidency upon the morale of our people, their institutions, and the relations of the Commonwealth Government to the United States.

SO: Is there no further consideration to reckon with, Mr. President?

MLQ: Of course, there is the added consideration that I did not want to leave the Philippines. As you well know my choice was to stay with our people and suffer their lot no matter how bitter. I decided to come to the United States only when President Roosevelt invited me here "to function in Washington as the head of the Commonwealth Government-in-exile and as the symbol of the redemption of the Philippines." Take special note of this phrase, Don Sergio, "as a symbol of the redemption of the Philippines."

Taking all these considerations together, I have assumed all along that when the President invited me to come

to the United States he had already decided that under the law I could, and in the interest of the prosecution of the war, I should continue as President of the Philippines until I am restored to the full possession of my powers and authority in the Philippines by the armed forces of the United States.

SO: But, Mr. President, why should you give more validity to President Roosevelt's decision and not to the provisions of the Constitution?

Does the President's desire carry more weight than the clear mandate of the Constitution terminating the term of your office on November 15 and providing for the succession of the Vice-President?

MLQ: Don Sergio, open your eyes to the realities of the situation. Japan overthrew the constitutional Government of the Commonwealth with its three independent and separate departments — the legislative, executive, and judicial — and substituted therefor a Japanese military regime. Do you not remember that the Tydings-McDuffie Act as well as the Constitution of the Philippines say that the President of the United States is authorized to intervene when constitutional government is overthrown? Therefore, the intervention of President Roosevelt in our dispute is in accordance with and not in violation of the Constitution of the Philippines. In other words, if the President of the United States desires me to continue in office that would be in perfect accord with the terms of the Tydings-McDuffie Act

MY FATHER . . .

From page 12 / ting accustomed to not having to struggle. He thought that there was a definite tendency away from strength of character. In particular, he thought that there was a tendency toward loss of good manners. I believe there was an incident once when he walked past a classroom and saw a student with his feet up. He gave the dean a calling down for tolerating that sort of thing.

I think that is one difference between their generation and ours, a difference that you may also call a contributing factor in their poise. And it is this sense of discipline.

I would say Dad had a lot of this discipline. Sometimes when there was work that had to be done, he did it even if he was falling apart! If you read his addresses, his meticulously worded vetoes, his proclamations — there was a terrific accumulation of these every day. Apparently, he was at it all the time. I have never known that he had anything approaching office hours!

I think Dad's generation had a definite seriousness about life and what they were going to do about it. If they had a profession, they felt they had to practice it seriously. If they were in politics,

they really dedicated themselves to it. It's not that they didn't enjoy pleasures or family life at all. But I think there was a proper proportion and hierarchy of values that went into anybody's life — all of it well-balanced and properly subordinated among themselves. I remember how a very close friend told my mother once, "Aurora, you have to realize that your husband is married to your country before he is married to you."

What attitude did he have toward the role of women in national life?

Well, you know he was largely responsible for giving women the vote. He really believed that if a woman had capabilities, they should be used — even if she is a woman.

However, he never allowed my mother to interfere in any way with the running of government. I am inclined to think she wouldn't have wanted to anyhow!

I imagine my father may have discussed certain political situations with her, not in the sense of asking her what he should do, but in sounding out her opinion on how matters stood, how certain candidates were looked upon. My

mother had a lot of contact with people and in that respect, she might have been a good source of information. And if she was considered for political help, it was only in a very special area: some people who couldn't stand my father were, fortunately, able to stand my mother. In that way, she might have broken down certain barriers for him!

I think my mother was every bit as interesting a character as my father and she is much less known. My mother gave the impression of being a very quiet person but she had a character every bit as strong as my father. If she was pushed far enough, she reacted as strongly as my father did — without the colorful language! She had a very strong sense of dignity and of what was proper, but she was also lots of fun. She had a terrific sense of humor, even at her own expense, and taught us in turn, to take things at our own expense, without getting angry or crying.

But here's a seemingly un-Filipino attitude of Dad toward her: he always made her sit at the head of the table. I remember very clearly when the family was in Malacañang, mother sat at the head of the table with Dad at her right. Dad was deeply in love with my mother and I suppose that was one way

he had of showing it.

If the traditional Filipino was a Heavy Mother (or a Heavy Father!), did your parents conform?

I am not quite sure about that Filipino tradition! But my parents were very strict. If we misbehaved, we get a very good and proper calling down — and also and always, an explanation why we were wrong. Another thing: they hardly ever spanked us.

Their particular theory of upbringing also excluded forcing us to be something they wanted us to be. I remember asking them many times what they wanted me to be and they always answered: "Whatever you want to be." My mother did want Nini to become a doctor of medicine, but never exerted any pressure on her. Once in a conversation with my mother, after my father had died, I learned by chance that he looked forward to a time when he, Baby and I would be in a law office together but he never mentioned it to me.

If he had any political ambitions for me, he said the last of it when I was born. Seeing that I was darker than he, he told my mother: "Ayan mayroon na akong insurrecto!"—#

QUEZON AND . . .

From page 11 / elected President Woodrow Wilson to have a sympathetic American sent to the Philippines as governor-general. It was thus that Quezon, by a brilliant display of political strategy and tactics, practically compelled President Wilson to issue his now-famous message to the Filipino people in which he said that "Every step we take will be taken with a view of the ultimate independence of the Islands and as a preparation for that independence. And we hope to move towards that end as rapidly as the safety and the permanent interests of the Islands will permit. After each step taken, experience will guide us to the next."

Jones Law Passed

It is to the credit of Quezon that although hemmed in by forces hostile to Philippine independence, he was able to maneuver Congress to pass the Jones Bill which ultimately became a law when President Wilson signed it. The Jones Law was, so far, the best pro-independence law that the Filipinos had wangled from the Americans, for it promised independence to the Philippines "as soon as a stable government" could be established therein. More, the law became, in essence, the Philippines' Constitution which definitely defined the bill of rights and the structure of the government. By securing the passage of the Jones Law, Quezon paved the way for a political development that had no precedent or equal in the history of colonialism. When he left the Philippine Assembly to become Resident Commissioner to the United States, the Filipinos controlled only the Lower House; the Philippine Commission, which acted as the Upper House, was in the hands of the Americans. When he returned to the Philippines with the Jones Law, the Filipinos were guaranteed the control of both the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Quezon now believed that he had done his duty and that it was time to practice law. He astutely



QUEZON THE FARMER

At a Palace ceremony, President Quezon expresses his thanks to sculptor who pictured him in a beautiful plaster as a rice planter.

from the background, prevailed upon Quezon to run for the Senate and become its first President. Quezon, with a political sharpness and perception that characterized his public life, advised Osmeña to run for the Senate and become its president, for he thought that with a bicameral legislature in the hands of the Filipinos, the Senate President should logically become the leader of the Filipino representation in the colonial government. Quezon based his argument on the fact that the Senate or Upper House had more powers than the House of Representatives, particularly because the American governor-general would, in accordance with the Jones Law, have to depend on the Senate for confirmation of all his appointees in the government. Osmeña, however, thought otherwise and continued to harbor the belief that the Speaker, as president of the party in power and hitherto the leader of Filipino representation in the government, was *ipso facto* the leader and should continue to be so. There is no evidence so far that Quezon agreed with Osmeña on this point, but his election to the Senate and, ultimately,

to the presidency of this body, showed that Quezon temporarily gave in to Osmeña — a concession that in a few years would be set aside in a bid to prove his theory that the Senate President and not the Speaker of the House should be the leader of the Filipino representation in the government.

Osmeña and Quezon, working like a well-oiled machine, practically managed the government, for Governor-General Harrison, either because of his sympathy for the Filipinos or because of his weakness as an executive, surrendered a part of his executive functions to the two Filipino leaders. There were understandable cries from the Americans, particularly from the Republicans, against what they considered Harrison's abdication of his powers, but the genial governor-general continued his political *tete-a-tete* with Osmeña and Quezon; who were astute enough to humor Harrison in ways not exactly ethical.

So far, Osmeña had been wielding the baton of the Philippine political orchestra, with Quezon playing the role of concert master. But beneath the apparently genial relations between con-

ductor and concert master was an undercurrent of dissatisfaction, for Quezon, believing that the conductor was wielding his baton quite forcefully, believed that Osmeña was monopolizing the political stage. There were times when Quezon was on the verge of a confrontation with Osmeña, but his political perspicacity dissuaded him from challenging the then powerful Speaker of the House. Quezon bided his time, for he was a man who, though known for his impatience, could be patient enough to wait for the propitious time to make patience a political virtue. He had not long to wait. In 1921, he threw the gauntlet at the Nacionalista convention and, in effect, challenged Speaker Osmeña's leadership. Quezon found a convenient issue against his political chief in the question of leadership. Osmeña had always believed in a unipersonal leadership which would be responsible for the coordination and direction of Filipino participation in the government. The issue, as Osmeña saw it, was "over the principle that there should be among the Nacionalistas in the government a united and responsible leadership so as to keep up the necessary cohesion among them . . ." But Quezon, sensing a changing climate of opinion among the younger members of the Legislature, declared that he would "stand by my theory of collective leadership even if I have to leave the Nacionalista Party."

The clash of two strong wills led to Quezon's forming the splinter Nacionalista Colectivista. Osmeña's fear of a split party, which he thought detrimental to the Filipino cause, led him to relent, and offered to resign as leader of the party in power. But Quezon saw the crack in Osmeña's armor and took advantage of it. He went to the polls in 1922 on the issue of collective against unipersonal leadership — and won. But his majority was not sufficient to keep him secure in his Senate rostrum. The weak opposition party, headed by Juan Sumulong, Ruperto Montinola, and Minority Floor Leader Claro M. Recto, tried its best to win the speakership of the House for Recto by promising Sergio Osmeña, the leader / To page 60

Unless other water resources are tapped fast, it is not a remote possibility that the Novaliches reservoir will hit rock-bottom, crash programs notwithstanding

1975?

off the mark.

As the days of the water crisis draw closer, harassed Nawasa men could only point to 1967 for the water consumer's salvation.

By around October of 1967, we shall have abundant water," Chairman Moreno pledges.

Looking back at the original timetable given by the Nawasa to the public, water consumers could only raise a doubting eyebrow.

They know only too well that Nawasa's P170 million interim project, the much awaited cure-all for the metropolitan water problem, is already 10 months behind schedule!

Behind Schedule

The water source phase of the project (which consists of the second Ipo-Bicti tunnel, the second Bicti Novaliches aqueduct, and the third Novaliches-Balara aqueduct) is going on but construction performance lags very much behind the agreement in the contracts.

The contractors of the project are quick to hide behind the excuse of red-tape in the government procurement of needed equipment.

The laying down of 110 kilometers of transmission pipelines as part of the distribution phase of the project, has been hamstrung by a court injunction for the past 14 months.

The injunction arose from a case filed by a pipe manufacturer who failed to join a bidding for P5 million worth of piping materials.

The acquisition of city lots for eight big ground reservoir and booster pumping stations is not altogether an easy task. These reservoirs which also constitute the project's distributive phase, are designed to hold five million gallons of water.

So far, only the water treatment phase is going on smoothly according to schedule. The first 100-million-gallon-daily flocculation and sedimentation

basin was completed last July. But where is the additional water for treatment?

Chairman Moreno, to beat the deadline, has started to crack the whip on delinquent contractors. Two such contractors have already been summoned by the Nawasa board, admonished and warned that their contracts will be rescinded if they fail to come up with the desired performance.

The different phases of the interim project which is supported by a \$20.2 million World Bank loan, according to Moreno, have to be completed simultaneously.

"For, as the saying goes, they are like the bow and arrow: useless each without the other," he says.

By October 1967, Moreno further says with certainty and optimism, the Greater Manila area will have all the water it wants with a daily supply of 300 million gallons daily.

Again, after that time, what about 1975?

A spokesman for the Nawasa gives the assurance that steps are already being undertaken to meet the second phase of the water crisis by 1975.

Metcalf and Eddy, consultants for the WB, have already started looking ahead. Harrison P. Eddy, the other partner in the consultants firm, came here recently to kick off preparation for second phase of a waterworks improvement plan.

Nawasa authorities, scouting around for new water sources, have been training their eyes at Marikina for an exclusive water dam and the Laguna de Bay.

A team of experts from the United Nations recently came to the country to explore possibilities of the bay as a water source.

To the consuming public then, the promised oasis is only more than a year away but there is no guarantee that it will not turn out to be a mirage.—#

SKIN-DEEP

by GEMMA CRUZ ARANETA



A nascent matriarchy?

● WILL THE world ever become one glorious matriarchy? Just hear how violently the men object! But I still think this is not impossible. Here in Oxford, the women are acutely perspicacious and aggressive, even more so than the men. It may just be a matter of survival for there are only five women's colleges to the 28 men's colleges. We can assume that these five colleges have as many applicants as the 28 but they have to be more rigidly screened for only the most prodigious and intelligent. The editor of the University paper is a woman. The secretary of the Debating Union, for once in its 125-year history, is a woman. Two rare achievements indeed.

The American woman, it seems, is the most emancipated. It is she who seems the most self-sufficient. Thus, she has been able to marry for something as ephemeral as love, without fear of divorce which may mean only a lavish alimony.

Soviet Russia has the first woman cosmonaut and another one who steers a jet propelled ship. A satellite country in East Europe has a woman jet pilot.

In the Philippines, we can also boast of extraordinary women. We have had our Gabriela Silang and Gregoria de Jesus and certainly a great many, if not too many, women doctors, lawyers, engineers, chemists, politicians, judges, historians . . . Our women are undoubtedly enterprising and hold the most influential places, be it in the home or in business corporations. How very unlike the women of Spain and Latin America!

Today, the world anxiously watches one woman: Mrs. Indira Gandhi. It is strange that from an Asian country where for centuries women have been restricted and docile, the most powerful woman in the world has emerged.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi is from Sommerville College, Oxford, where she read history but did not get a degree. Like her father, Prime Minister Nehru, she was jailed by the British. The Indian women in Oxford look up to her for being brilliant, dedicated, experienced, and trained in political affairs, and passionately addicted to the interests of India at heart. In India she is considered a leftwing socialist and we have yet to see how much Oxford has influenced her in this aspect.

As the prime minister of India, she will be the most powerful woman ever. Of course, there were queens before her — Cleopatra, Catherine the Great, Elizabeth I, the Empress Dowager but they never ruled over so vast a multitude, 450 million, in a sub-continent afflicted with famines and droughts and entangled precariously in the most explosive international struggles.

February 23, 1966

A HOUSE DIVIDED



'It is absurd to look upon the individual ills of Philippine society as isolated and mutually unrelated since a brief reflection will reveal their interdependence, that they are not disparate phenomena'

by MANUEL L. QUEZON, Jr.

● BISHOP Fulton J. Sheen illustrated the difference between a pessimist and an optimist thus: "A pessimist says, 'Isn't it terrible that roses should have thorns?' An optimist says, 'Isn't it wonderful that thorns should have roses?'" He also used a couplet: "Two men looked out of prison bars, One saw mud, the other stars." Those who look at contemporary Philippine society — society in the sense of the totality of Philippine life — see a society that is mortally sick. It provides a view of a vast expanse of mud, above it a few stars, but very few indeed. At least, that is the general impression one gathers from hearing people from all walks of life and all rungs of the social and economic ladder. This is especially so when the speaker — or writer — is a *laudator temporis acti*, one who always praises the past to the disparagement of the present. But even those who believe more in studying the present than in sighing after an irretrievable past — and somehow the past seems better and better as it recedes farther and farther, its rough outlines blurred by distance — they agree at least that many things, all too many things, are wrong and have to be put to right. A not inconsiderable number of thinkers have tried to enumerate all the things that are wrong — dirty politics, a weak economy, the growth of criminality, the ever-present topic of smuggling, and so on down the line, to form an almost interminable litany of ills. A smaller number, looking upon all these items as symptoms of one basic social disease, or perhaps a few diseases, engage in a quest to isolate it, or them, for identification and treatment.

Interdependent Ills

It is obviously absurd to look upon the individual ills of Philippine society as isolated and mutually unrelated, since very brief reflection will reveal their interdependence. To take an instance — the plight of the national economy is blamed, with some justice, on

government policies, and government policies are partly decided by corrupt politics, therefore corrupt politics and economic instability cannot be regarded as completely disparate phenomena.

One may agree that there is one basic problem — or several — at the root of our difficulties (the favorite choices being economics or politics). From this it does not follow automatically that the detection of the root evil will automatically, as though by magic, eliminate in one fell swoop all its consequences, all its ramifications. The analogy of a human body having a disease with multiple symptoms, which disappear with the successful treatment of the disease, is all very well, but there is an old axiom that an analogy does not apply in every respect. In fact, even accepting the analogy, we must still realize that a disease, even when cured, may leave damage which must be repaired separately. Paralysis is a symptom of acute polio, but a patient cured of acute polio may still have a paralyzed limb which must be treated surgically or otherwise.

Vague To Concrete

But to put the analogy aside — finding the very broad root cause or causes and suggesting a correspondingly broad and possibly vague solution may be like the famous saying "against sin and for American motherhood" — it will not get us very far if it does not go beyond that. Human, and therefore social, ills are very concrete, specific things; their nature and cure must be understood in concrete, specific terms before remedies can be sought. To deal in vague generalities is to fail. Unless generalities are broken down into concrete realities which can be attached with concrete remedies, ours is a futile exercise.

There is one feature in the generally dismal picture of our contemporary situation which I should like to call to the reader's attention. It is the lack of unity or homogeneity in our society. Stated in this fashion, this truth is al-

most a truism, and, to say that we need unity is merely to voice a pious platitude. We shall not leave it at that.

The fabric of our society is broken up by an awesome number of cracks, perhaps not clearly seen at a distance, but highly visible at close range, which deprive it of the strength and cohesion so necessary for a solid structure. The cracks run parallel, at times they intersect, at times they merge, but the sum total is what I am inclined to regard as a juxtaposition of groups, rather than a single society made up of mutually integrated parts. Perhaps the past and possible future failures of government may be due to be practical impossibility of moving such a structure forward. But let us get down to specifics. I should like to discuss one of the cracks, the difference between what, for lack of better terms, I shall designate the privileged and the underprivileged groups. I shun the terms *rich* and *poor* because the question of the middle class would arise, and the distinction would be economic, with which we are not here concerned. The economic differences between haves and have-nots are too obvious to require elaboration. Even though the terms underprivileged and privileged correspond roughly to economic differences, I use them in a different sense. I mean by the underprivileged those whose world of ideas, way of life, social habits, etc., coincide with those of the vast majority of the population who are undeniably poor (not necessarily beggars) — the unskilled laborer and the small farmer who may not be quite on the verge of starvation but are not too far from its danger. I designate by the term privileged those whose world coincides with a relatively small part of the population, from the truly wealthy to those who need not worry about the necessities of life and a number of things besides. I ask the reader to keep in mind all through this article that we are not dealing with a simple distinction between rich and poor.

It would not be too far-fetched, in my opinion, to say that the two groups are socially — to be more exact, sociologically — distinct. I will not go so far as to say that they are separate castes. In a genuine caste system, there is no fluidity. One cannot pass from one caste to another, one is born a member of a caste, lives in it, and dies in it. Fortunately, and we can thank God for it, in our country one can bridge the chasm between the underprivileged and the privileged, but chasm there is. Just what is this chasm?

Difference Of Mentality

Basically, the chasm is a difference of mentality. The privileged have a wider view of life and its possibilities. Their mental horizons are coextensive with the wide world. They are much less submerged in a herd mentality. Blood ties are less oppressive. The weight of convention sits less heavily on their shoulders, and when they violate convention, they are much more likely to meet with approval, or at least tolerance and forgiveness; there is less danger and even less fear of reprisal, in the form of ostracism from the social group, or effective expression of condemnation. In other words, a member of the group can "get away" with behavior contrary to commonly accepted patterns in his group. For instance, he can stay away from a family wedding. He may, and probably does, incur displeasure, but he need not fear very strong or long-lasting repercussions. Manifestations of individuality and even eccentricity in behavior and dress and even in thought are not only more acceptable, they are frequently admired and even praised. Originality is at a premium. Aggressiveness (not pugnaciousness), drive, "go" are considered a virtue and so is independence. Reasons for doing things are more often demanded, and the answer that things have always been done that way is not in itself sufficient.

Thus there is greater flexibility. The privileged are less set in the ways, they

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A HOUSE DIVIDED

continued

The division of our social organism into two presents a serious obstacle to progress

are more susceptible to reasoning, to argumentation, and their patterns of thought and living are more open to change. Morally and legally, they are neither more nor less free than the underprivileged, but they use that freedom to a far greater extent. They have emerged totally or almost totally from the life of the clan, the tribe, and when they adhere to tradition and social patterns, it is with a greater element of deliberation and choice, a smaller element of instinct and conditioned behavior than the underprivileged. They are more modern, more contemporary, less provincial or parochial, more Western in outlook.

The underprivileged are hemmed in on

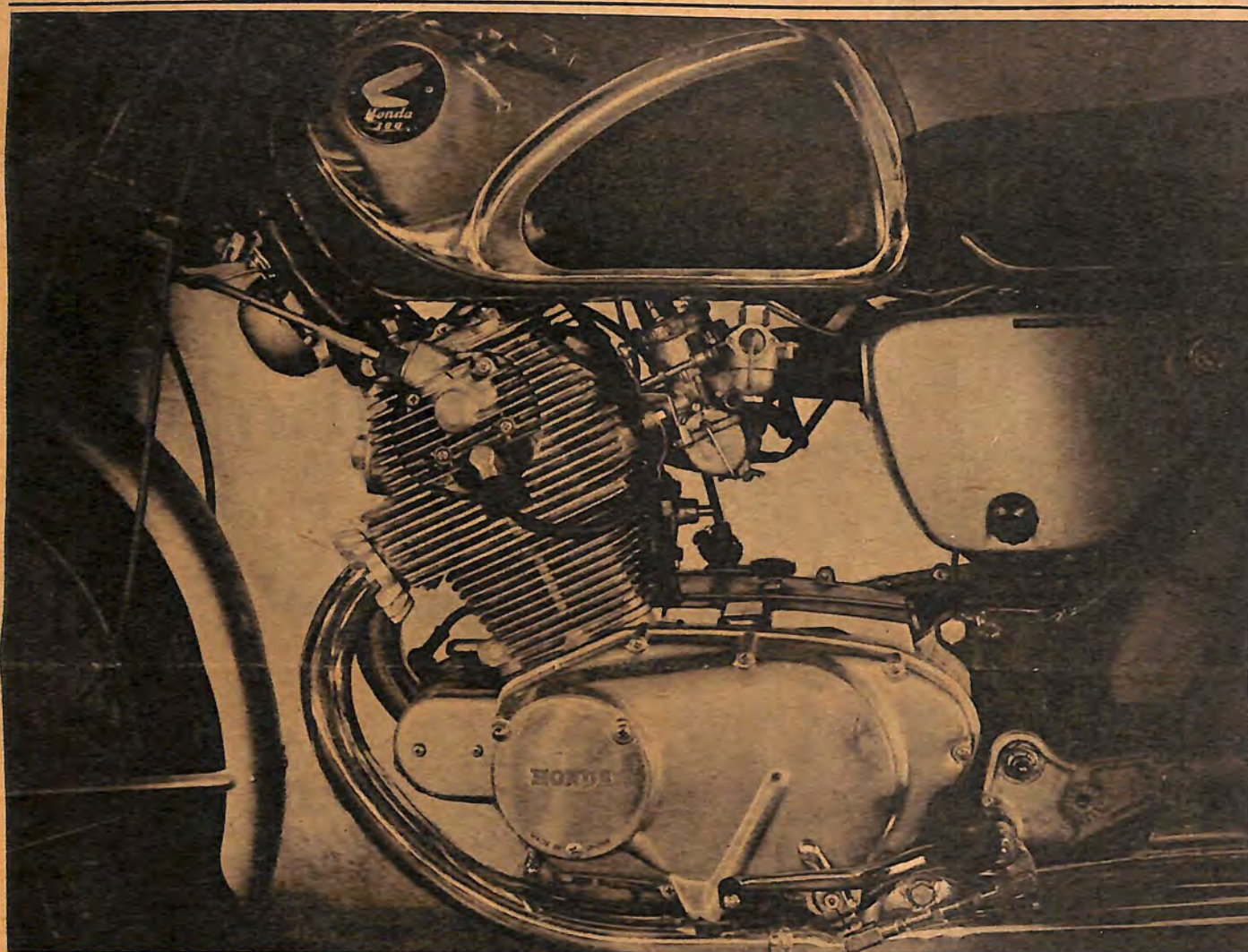
all sides. Their mental horizons are narrow. Patterns of thought and behavior are set in rigid lines, to transgress which is to court social disaster and mental torture. Life is tied up with the family in the widest sense of the word, that is, relatives who can in any way be considered relatives no matter how remote, whether by blood or affinity. The approval of this vast number is eagerly sought, a prime consideration in big and small decisions. The desire for approval and the dread of disapproval will often tip the scales in favor of what is otherwise undesirable or even positively harmful. It is actually the mentality of the clan, the tribe, where decisions and actions are

collective and woe to him who does not submit. Worse, the crudely democratic activity of clan discussion, where the individual could at least be heard, has disappeared. But the mentality of being bound unquestioningly by custom has survived in the form of impersonal, self-justifying tradition, against which a voice may not be raised in protest or a judgment appealed. This customary pattern has assumed the form of a built-in reflex, an almost inborn habit, so that the majority no more think of its rightness or wrongness than they do of the advisability of breathing. Adherence, therefore, to social mores is automatic and blind, rather than conscious and free. This in turn builds a wall against the waves of change and progress break in vain. Since change must come from the few and affect the many, but the few cannot with impunity differ from the many, a petrification of life is the result. Life is narrow, confined, parochial, archaic. Individuality is a curse and originality an absurdity. Blessed with moral and legal freedom like the rest of humanity, the underprivileged are practically unable to use it. Their freedom is a far cry from St. Paul's "glorious freedom of the sons of God."

Superiority And License

The characteristics of the privileged are of course not unmixed blessings, any more than those of the underprivileged, unmixed liabilities. The very fact that the privileged feel so free means that they easily overstep the line separating freedom from license. Their uninhibited ways can lead to non-conformity for the sake of non-conformity, so that where others feel bound to conform they feel bound not to conform. Their greater knowledge and wider capabilities can end in abuse and in a smug feeling of superiority over the underprivileged. (In this connection, I recall a highly respected person telling me: "You know, we are more intelligent than these people," meaning the whole population of domestic helpers.) This feeling of superiority easily equates itself with superior goodness, a disgusting and intolerable mistake. A reasonable consciousness of and concern for their own rights is not always accompanied with a corresponding consciousness on and concern for the rights of the underprivileged. The aggressiveness of the privileged all too often turns into ruthlessness in the struggle to rise in life. Cynicism may well be a near-monopoly of the privileged, and it is hardly an endearing trait. Greater freedom from the sense of family ties more easily allows for ugly inter-family rivalries and quarrels, while mutual support may be lacking when it is needed. The greater sense of freedom calls for a greater sense of responsibility, and such responsibility is not always forthcoming. The obligations to society of those with greater knowledge and power is not as widely appreciated as it should be — it is carried into practice even less. While magnanimity may be fairly common, selfishness and graspingness are often astonishing, and among the wealthy, philanthropy is too often a pure means to avoid taxes. The modern outlook frequently leads to the discarding of perfectly valid, but older, views. Westernization is too seldom selective, and may mean that substitution of Western parochialism for the homegrown product.

The underprivileged, hemmed in by traditional thinking and traditional behavior, can enjoy a degree of serenity

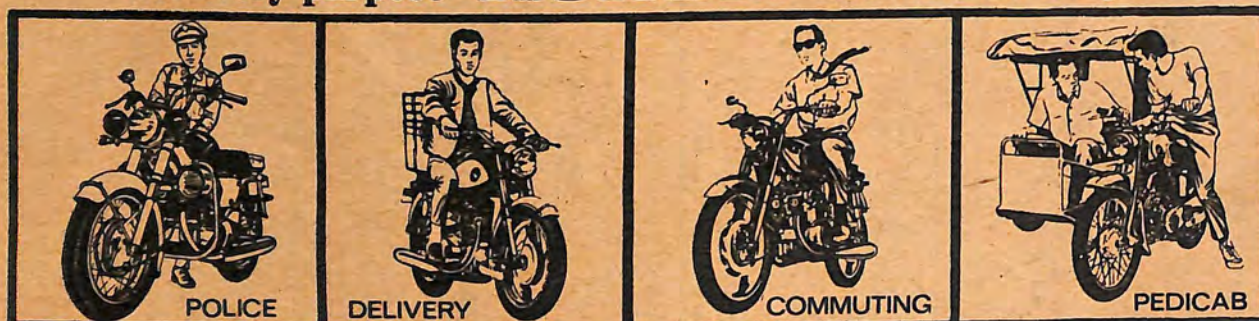


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lacking in others. The very close blood ties may be suffocating, but they also lend support in difficult situations where the average human being is unable to stand alone. "Where ignorance is bliss," wrote Shakespeare, "'tis folly to be wise." Limited knowledge gives rise to limited aspirations, and the fewer one's aspirations the fewer one's frustrations. The constant drudgery, the monotony, the colorlessness of existence develops patience, and patience is after all a virtue. Shortsightedness, the much criticized lack of foresight, veils from one's eyes the phantoms of distant fears and worries — bahala na — phantoms, which may never materialize and even if certain to materialize, possibly could not be remedied in any case, so fretting over them would be a waste of time and present contentment. The choices open to the underprivileged being severely limited, the problem of making a choice is also severely limited and to that extent less taxing. The problem of life itself is reduced on the material level to earning enough to eat reasonably, be sheltered and clothed adequately, and even these goals are set at a low level. On the social level, the clearly traced lines of conduct do not leave much place for confusion and if one is willing to conform — as most are — there can be little stress and strain in that area.

If the situation of the privileged is compared with that of the underprivileged, it would seem that the privileged are the roses with the thorns, the underprivileged the thorns with the roses, only the former are rosebushes with some thorns, the latter thornbushes with some roses. The disadvantages of the privileged amount to the abuse of a good thing, and what good thing is not subject to abuse? The advantages is still a healthier ingredient in the silver lining on a cloud and, as the old song put it, you have to "look for the silver lining." A group who may abuse their liberty and advantages is still a healthier ingredient in a democracy than a group who can neither use nor abuse their liberty and advantages because, practically speaking, they have neither the one nor the other.

Distinction Of Types

In contrasting the privileged and the underprivileged groups, I may be accused of establishing a distinction which is merely a matter of degree. The charge would be true to a certain extent, but the distinction is also, and principally, a distinction of types, types of thinking and acting. It is of course clear that the privileged are not immune from the disadvantages of the underprivileged. Who will say that the privileged never kowtow to petrified custom? Who can deny, for instance, the social pressure on wealthy families to hold lavish weddings — how regularly such families succumb, even when their feelings are all to the contrary. Who will deny that a society woman will often dress in a style wholly unsuited to her, just because it is the fashion? On the other hand, there are cases of, say, a young man of the underprivileged group who will marry a girl other than the one preferred by the family, and then start farming on his own, completely independent of his family and unconcerned over the ensuing criticism and ostracism? Or a young couple who have their child baptized without the customary expensive celebration, because they would have to incur debts and they would

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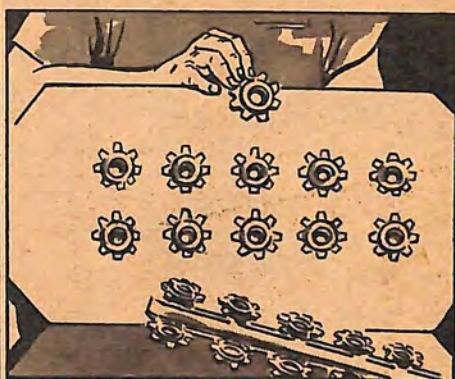
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continued

The educated can hardly pass their ideas on to the underprivileged who cannot understand them

rather violate custom than incur debts?

But I must again remind my reader that the distinction I have made between privileged and underprivileged is not a class or an economic distinction, it is a distinction between two kinds of mental outlook and their corresponding patterns of behavior. It is true that the underprivileged in my sense of the word, and the underprivileged in the economic and social sense, largely coincide. The underprivileged mental outlook is commonly found in the poor who form the immense majority of our population. But an economically unfortunate individual may belong to the privileged group by reason of his mental outlook. This may be the result of an independent, individualistic character due to reasons which only psychologists and sociologists could determine. It may also be due to an education, formal or informal (i.e., acquired at school or through reading and learning on his own) which has enabled him to rise above the limitations of the mental outlook which burdens the poor. Thus, in the same poor family, you may have members who belong to the privileged and others who belong to the underprivileged. For that matter, you will find people with an abundance of money who definitely belong to the underprivileged. Indeed, most individuals would probably be found to possess the characteristics of both groups, in varying proportions. This is particularly true among the privileged, since they have arisen through a more or less gradual evolution, from the underprivileged and thus retain more or less of the underprivileged mentality. There is much greater homogeneity of outlook among the underprivileged.

Two Unequal Groups

I should also like to point out that when we distinguish the two groups there may be an unconscious tendency to think of them as about equal in numbers. This is by no means the case. The overwhelming majority of our population belong to the underprivileged. The very poor, with very rare exceptions, belong to the group. Those in comfortable financial circumstances are a small number comparatively speaking. Of these, a large number still belong to the underprivileged by reason of their outlook. The number who are really well off financially, those who can be called wealthy, are even fewer, and of these the older generation can frequently be classified as underprivileged. We are left, then, with the great majority of the young and wealthy generation — a small number indeed — plus the less prosperous who have developed through character and education the independent outlook which keeps them from falling back into the underprivileged pattern — again a small number — plus the really poor who have managed to break loose from the clan mentality — an almost microscop-

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ic number. Thus we have two very unequal groups, the privileged who are a fraction of the population, and the underprivileged, who are the overwhelming majority.

Although the two groups are not separate in time or space, they form two separate worlds. I will go so far as to say that the two may be unable to understand each other. There is of course the language barrier. The privileged, due to their education, may be unable to express important ideas in the vernacular. They have been taught in English, they have done all their technical or professional reading in English or some other foreign tongue and are unable without great difficulty to communicate their more complex thoughts in the vernacular. As a result, they can hardly pass their ideas on to the underprivileged, who are at home only in the vernacular.

Mentality Barrier

Much more serious, however, is the mentality barrier. The framework within which the two groups live (what is sometimes called their frames of reference) makes it almost impossible for the underprivileged mind to understand the privileged, and vice-versa. I shall take a very common example. A servant, one of the underprivileged, tells his employer, one of the privileged, that he wants a two weeks' vacation. Actually, he has no intention of returning, but the employer either takes his request at face value or is left doubt about his real intention. If the latter, the employer may ask for the truth, and explain that if the servant wishes to leave for good, he should say frankly, so a replacement can be hired. The servant insists that he will return. Two weeks pass, then three, then four, and at least the employer realizes that the servant will not return. The employer is angry. "Why," he thinks, "did he have to lie? He had a perfect right to leave and I could not have prevented it if I wished. In the meantime I would have been saved endless trouble." The incident is dismissed as typical of the servant class, but the reason for the servant's behavior remains a mystery. A mystery, that is, to the employer for he would tell his employer to his face, more or less politely, but clearly. His attitude would be that he has a perfect right to leave if he so wishes and the employer has no right to interfere. The servant, on the other hand, would find it rude, offensive to his employer's feelings, to tell him outright. The servant wants to stay in the good graces of his employer, even though he may never see him again. He does not want to embarrass the man. When the employer asks for the truth, the servant persists in his original statement, because he cannot now admit to a lie. He would lose face, be embarrassed in his turn, and merely compound the offense to his employer, which he wanted to avoid in the first place.

Here then is a very common experience. The employer and the servant belong to the same racial stock, the same country, probably the same religion, they live in the same historical environment, yet their minds are separated by a wall of mutual incomprehension. Each will blame the other, not for failing to understand — that is easily condoned — but for refusing to understand. They do not see each other's viewpoint and perhaps they never will.

A social body — the Philippine na-

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by Helene Curtis

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tion — made up of such mutually insulated mentalities is hardly a cohesive whole. Perhaps the example chosen is unfortunate in that it involves a matter of little importance, but the point illustrated is a very serious thing indeed. A country faced with tremendous problems on every side is heavily handicapped in solving them when those problems cannot be understood in the same way by the people. Not of course that unanimity of opinion is necessary for the solution of a problem, since even a common understanding of a problem will not produce unanimity as to its solution. But when a problem cannot even be *understood* in broadly similar terms by the people, it becomes vastly more difficult to reach agreement on a solution. This introduces practical problems in the political order.

No Popular Support

An Administration in power may make a very poor showing in legislation because laws badly needed cannot be passed — they will be misunderstood, misinterpreted, and the consequent loss of votes at election time may be fatal to the Administration. The difficulty of understanding and appreciating the objectives of legislation easily leads to the lack of popular support which alone may ensure successful implementation. The social security legislation is a case in point, I will not say of failure, but of opposition due to lack of understanding. The satisfactoriness or unsatisfactoriness of the laws as passed are not the point, it is the misapprehension that the government was taking money that it had no right to take from the hardpressed worker. The objectives of a system of social security, so common in modern countries, were not easily understood, instead they were frequently resented. The high incidence of electoral frauds is due in great part to the attitude that the enemy's frauds are an outrage, but one's own are tolerable or even laudable. In other words, the purpose of an election is seen as the victory of one's candidates rather than the ascertaining of the electorate's choice, regardless of who it may be.

To comment on a more general level — two groups of people, with mutually insulated ways of thought and life do not stand together or work together smoothly. Goethe claimed that in order to know something or someone, one must first love it. While this is true in one sense, in other sense the opposite is more true — one cannot love what one does not know. The split between the two groups is an impediment to strong national unity, except where a threat greater than the split drives the two together. Fortunately such threats are few but also unfortunately the split is seldom healed. History records the progress of nations blessed with a unity of outlook, of objectives, of culture. Efforts in the direction of progress are better coordinated due to a greater unity of purpose. The necessary sacrifices involved are commonly understood and as a rule more commonly accepted. The division of our social organism into the two groups is a serious obstacle to the attainment of the necessary unity conducive to progress.—#



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TOP OF THE WEEK

by C. PRIGO

pendence) of the burden of administration and of direct responsibility for Philippine welfare."

During the campaign led by the late President Roxas to accept parity — admittedly in exchange for rehabilitation funds — one of the "selling points" was the claim that parity would generate a large amount of American capital. The record does not bear this out. On the contrary, if American capital during parity years has been remarkable, it has not been because of its size but because of the huge dividends and other earnings that it has produced here and remitted to mother companies in the United States. In the parity decade between 1950 and 1960, foreign capital invested in the Philippines amounted to only \$19 million, while profits of foreign-owned firms remitted abroad amounted to more than \$215 million. Despite parity, George Taylor reminds us in his book ("The Philippines and the United States: Problems of Partnership"), American investments in the Philippines are "considerably less than those in Cuba, Mexico, or Peru, where there are no special arrangements such as prevailed in the Philippines."

All these considerations are apart from the fact that American business interests are now, in the name of parity, engaged in another act of supreme opportunism and discourtesy. Disregarding both the clear intent and the letter of the law on retail trade nationalization, these American interests have launched a campaign, part of it through our own courts, to secure more advantages for themselves than Filipinos enjoy in their own country. While the law commands that a retail business should be 100 per cent Filipino-owned, American interests, under the shield of parity, have questioned the right of the Philippine government to require that American retail business should be 100 per cent American-owned. It is argued, with incredible adventurism, that it is sufficient for a firm to qualify under the retail trade nationalization law, via parity, that majority of its stocks are owned by Americans. Needless to say, Americans are no longer satisfied with mere parity; now they must have better rights than Filipinos in their own country.

To recognize American interests beyond the termination of parity would, in the light of all these, perpetuate national dishonor.

Moreover, by according recognition in any extent to these interests after parity, we would be permitting a rare and excellent opportunity to lapse — the opportunity of correcting the evils of parity. We believe that, inasmuch as these interests owe their existence to parity, they can neither legally nor morally live beyond parity itself. This is the only view that is consistent with the spirit of the Constitution, which has been debased enough by the forced introduction of the parity provision. And we comprehend this spirit to be a fierce dedication to an untarnished Filipino nationhood, which is no more and no less than the freedom to develop and grow with independence and self-respect.

It should be a simple matter to provide notice of the self-respecting Philippine intent to terminate American interests here simultaneously with parity itself. Any expedient that would afford Americans continued rights beyond the end of parity would subject the Philippine Constitution to more impairment than the parity provision itself inflicts. If any appreciation is left in any quarter for really sound Philippine-American relations, a serious effort must now be made to put any further irritant out of the way.

A clean, positive break with parity and its effects is the answer.—#

● WITH THE talk of looking into the wealth of government big shots, past and present, we pose this pertinent query: Why are some government big shots like a bra?

Because they have invisible means of support.

Now that Gregorio "Butch" Belgica has accomplished his second killing, is it time to escalate his pet name to "Butcher?"

Shortly after her return from a four-day trip to Vietnam, Sen. Maria Kalaw-Katigbak turned from dove to hawk.

This makes us sad because we thought Mary would remain a true Kalaw.

What if our solons have managed somehow to get some P100,000 for each of them inserted in the new budget? You may call them any number of names but you've got to admit that they are perfect gentlemen. At every chance they get, they always say gallantly, "Allow me."



The president of an airline was arrested on charges of participating in airborne smuggling.

If the sleuths will sniff some more, they will find big shots doing chairborne smuggling.

There is a lot of hue and cry about the P10-million check issued by the Central Bank to the PVTA during the Macapagal administration.

We do not believe that the check issued to the tobacco organization went up in smoke.

What's the difference between the Nawasa and the Board of Liquidators?

Unlike the Nawasa, the Board of Liquidators has liquid assets

which it can pour down the drain.

Exasperated by the Nawasa's failure to produce water for his faucets, a Quezon City resident dug a well behind his house, installed a pipe and a pump. A Nawasa inspector saw the pipe, insisted on connecting a meter to the system, for "sewerage costs." One of these days the good Lord will find a water bill from the Nawasa for dropping rain on parched Manila.

Privileged speeches on the floor of Congress were stopped 15 days before the end of the session.

We do not believe in stopping privileged speeches at any time. In case you don't already know, privileged speeches are delivered for the benefit of the underprivileged.

BANK REFUSES TO BARE RECORDS—Headline

Is it because the records may reveal low fidelity in public trust?

Definition of the week:
Diploma mills are sheepskin grafters.

Mayor Villegas claimed yesterday that he made a lot more from other legitimate sources than from his salary as vice-mayor and later mayor of Manila during 1960-65.—News item

The posts of vice-mayor and mayor are only sidelines, see?

RAMOS BACKS US VESTED RIGHTS HERE—Headline

Is that why they call him a foreign secretary?

Dr. Elvira O. Tan of the Philippine Fisheries Commission was sent by the government to study fishery biology in Moscow.

We hope Dr. Tan will come back to teach our intelligence agents how not to catch red herring and how to catch blue seals.

ZAMBO CITY SCHOOL SINKING—Headline

That's not so bad. Other schools are stinking.

The education secretary stopped the release of P1,650,000 used in the purchase of science reference books, when the law authorizing the amount specified "books contributing to Philippine literature."

Well, if the books bought by the bureau from a single dealer were not exactly for the promotion of literature, at least the circumstances surrounding their purchase involved some form of fiction.

A PARLIAMENTARY APPROACH TO A CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

● "SIX YEARS are too short for a good President and too long for a bad one." With this argument, the National Assembly, our prewar unicameral legislature, changed the presidential term from six years with no reelection to four years with one reelection.

More than 20 years later, it is proposed to return to the old system, and if the Constitution is amended, this proposal is very likely to be carried. The trouble with both changes (assuming that we shall have a change) is that both are too strongly influenced by passing circumstances. The return to the old system is inspired by what the electorate consider unfortunate experiences with incumbents. A different experience may lead to a demand for yet another change. If for example the late President Magsaysay had lived, been re-elected, and maintained his popularity throughout his second term, it might have been necessary to remove the prohibition of a third term.

My point is that we amend our Constitution on a patchwork basis, to suit every changing circumstances. We set up an over-rigid system which cannot cope with momentary changes in the political situation. As a result we shall constantly have to change it and then change it back again. The purpose of a written Constitution is, unless I am mistaken, to provide a broad framework within which normal legislative processes can provide for the needs of the

moment. That the present rigid system has worked in other countries — and I am sure most Filipinos would think of the United States of America at once — is no proof that it is the right one for us. Our experience would, if anything, indicate the contrary. I believe a distortion in our constitutional perspective has been caused by familiarity with the American system — what familiarity there is — coupled with ignorance of the European Parliamentary system — and this ignorance is well-nigh total, outside of our Constitutionalists. A look at the Parliamentary system will do us no harm.

The Parliamentary System

Under the Parliamentary system, in its broadest outline, you have a Chief of State whether a hereditary King or an elected President, who is outside politics and has no part in legislation or policy. You have a Legislative comprising a single House or two Houses. Where there are two Houses the Upper House may be hereditary or elective. Where it is hereditary it has little or no power over legislation or policy. If it is elective, its role in legislation varies depending on the particular country. The Lower House is always elective and being considered the more popular body (that is, popular in the sense of being more representative of the people) it is by tradition and practice the more important House. Thus, the Lower House

is the sole or the more important body in legislation and policy-making. The executive functions of our President are performed by the Prime Minister, with his Cabinet. The Prime Minister is drawn from the members of the Lower House, as are most of his Cabinet.

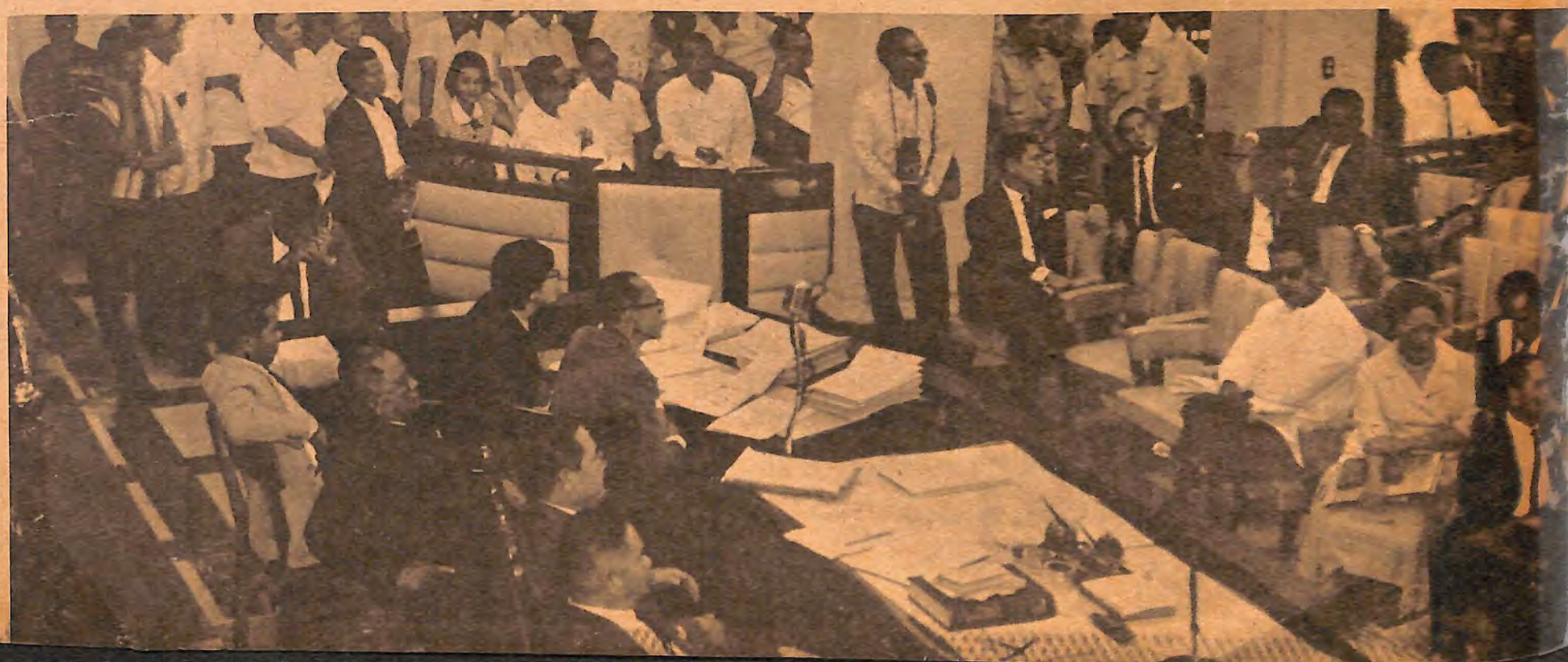
Although the Chief of State (King or President) appoints the Prime Minister, he cannot appoint whomever he pleases. He must appoint one who can enjoy the confidence of the Lower House — which means either the head of the majority party in the Lower House or, in the absence of a majority party one who has the support of enough parties or members of parties to command a majority of votes on important issues. The practice may vary somewhat from country to country, but in general, if the government (very roughly what we call the administration) fails to pass a bill which involves an important issue, the Prime Minister must call a new election to Parliament to seek a new mandate from the electorate, or resign and let the Chief of State appoint someone else who commands a majority in the Lower House. Thus, under the Parliamentary system, (which allows much room for custom) the government (or administration) is much more sensitive and responsive to the signs of continued public support because, through custom, the Lower House in its support or lack of support normally reflects the state of public opinion. Furthermore, a major

change in the platform on which the majority party was elected cannot be carried out without a new mandate through election or a "safe" majority in the Lower House. This is usually due to custom, but in practice has the force of Constitutional Law, so that a violation would almost invariably bring ruin to whatever political party or political leaders were involved.

A Clear Example

A clear instance of the working of this system is the case of the Labor Party of Great Britain under the Prime Minister Harold Wilson. The Labor Party was elected with a plurality of votes over the Conservative Party and needed the support of the Liberal Party to stay in power against the Conservative Party. As, even then, the Prime Minister had to depend on a narrow margin of three votes, ultimately reduced to two or one, with the growing danger of losing a "confidence" vote, the Prime Minister, after failing to build up a larger majority, decided to call for a new election in order to get (or not as the case may be) a clear new mandate from the electorate, although the House of Commons (the British Lower House) is elected for five years. Thus, in a Parliamentary system, although the Legislative is elected for a definite *maximum* period varying from country to country, the representative character of the administration is

Our leaders should consider whether or not it is time to change th



maintained throughout, because loss of popularity of those who run the country involves a change, even before the term of office of the Lower House is completed. That this does not necessarily lead to chronic instability is proven by the experience of Great Britain, the Scandinavian countries, Holland, etc. That it can in a particular case lead to chronic instability is shown by France, under its famous Parliamentary system now discarded.

I am not advocating the complete adoption of the Parliamentary system. My observation of our national psychology leads me to believe that we would fall into the same difficulties as France under the postwar Parliamentary system. We have had, though, two very eminent political figures, Recto and (I am told) also Laurel, who thought we should adopt the Parliamentary system and Heaven knows they had adequate opportunity to observe the national scene over a long period of public service. The Constitutions proposed during the Revolution were of the Parliamentary type, but that is not a decisive argument in its favor, due to the intervening change in the times and the na-



Recto



Laurel

tional experience. What is the common opinion of today's thinking public, largely unfamiliar with the Parliamentary system, cannot of course be determined with any degree of accuracy. I am inclined to think that, familiar or unfamiliar with Parliamentary democracy, they would reject it, favorably for three reasons: feeling at home with our own system; a marked bias in favor of American as contrasted with European institutions; and the belief (in which I share) that Parliamentarism is not suited to our national temperament and own political "style."

It is not necessary, however, to adopt the Parliamentary system in its entirety in order to enjoy some of its advantages. Perhaps we could adopt some of its features to our own needs while maintaining our own system basically. Perhaps we could modify our system to make it more flexible and responsive to the true wishes of the nation, insofar as such wishes exist.

The President's term of office is a case in point. The debate between the two viewpoints — one six-year term against (possibly) two four-year terms — seems inconclusive. The desire for a return to the old system is due principally to the fear of a bad four-year term, wasted in preparation for a double second term. It is claimed that the six-year term will be good, at least more likely to be good. But there is no assurance, not even humanly speaking, that the six-year term will be good. If it is not, we are bound to suffer — in silence or vociferous protest, but still to suffer — until the six years end. From past experience, it would seem that the people could hardly wait to turn reelectionists out of Malacañang. (Whether such an attitude was justified or unjustified is beside the point, since election or reelection depends on popularity or unpopularity, not the reasons for it) On the other hand, if the voters had been satisfied with the reelectionists they would presumably have reelected him. There is the viewpoint, of course, that our voters are fickle and chronically desirous of change. If such is the case — which is doubtful — why should the country be compelled to retain as President for six years a man they do not even want for a full four years? It is clear that if a man is not wanted for four years, he would be even less wanted for six. Whether or not he could be wanted for more than four is debatable. With the exception of President Magsaysay, no one was. President Magsaysay was morally certain of reelection, but he died before election. The question is — does a President have to be quite as popular as Mr. Magsaysay to win reelection? If so, obviously the people ordinarily do not want anyone longer than four years. On the other hand, if a President is so popular, the people

will not be satisfied even with six years.

Of course, I may be accused of begging the question. The argument for a six-year term with no reelection is that a man elected President under such conditions will be what they call a "non-political" President — he will run the country for the good of the country, irrespective of political parties and personal ambition. A four-year reelectionist President will be a partisan President rather than a "non-political" President. Therefore — so the argument runs — a six-year term with no reelection is better. We lack our own historical experience to support our view or the other. The experience of other countries is a different matter. It seems to weaken the argument in favor of six years. To cite one —

In the case of a certain South American Republic, the six-year system was followed. It encouraged a very unfortunate undercover system. The President would try to select as his successor someone who would be his puppet. In other words, the President would run the country in his own name for six years, then run it through his puppet successor for another six. Naturally, the only way to do this was by controlling his party's nominations, which required a very strong partisan bond between President and party, established Heaven knows how. In fact, on one occasion a puppet President tried to govern independently and was removed (not murdered) by intrigues of the entrenched party. Surely it is better to vote for a candidate who runs openly, rather than for one who (without our knowledge) runs for someone else behind the scenes.

Politics

There is also the human element of ambition to be considered. There are any number of instances of so-called non-political Presidents who have spent their six-year term stuffing their pockets discreetly with no thought of reelection. When their term expired, they moved with their family and bank account to some other country, there to enjoy the fruits of their corruption. They were ambitious for wealth.

If the ambition of a "non-political"

President is limited to leaving a good record for history, still he is not thereby freed from politicking. He needs Congress to pass his legislative programs, since a President does not run the government alone — it is President and Congress. To the extent that the President will not be a factor to reckon with in future elections (for that is what the six-year theory should effect, if successful), to that extent he is put at the mercy of Congress. Since our lawmakers are not always guided by the national interest in their choice of laws and programs, but are only too often influenced by political or personal considerations, the "lame-duck" President (that is what Americans call one who cannot run for reelection) would be forced to engage in a great deal of politicking to assure his legislative program success. We would be back where we started, a President who should be President of the whole nation for the whole nation turning into a President of a party for himself. Of course, such a President could hold fast to his non-political attitude, defy parties — and be unable to govern.

I do not say that the considerations adduced tip the scales clearly in favor of the present system. I believe they are inconclusive. Neither system eliminates the disadvantages of the other. There is another solution to the problem — raise the level of our political life so that the particular system of the Presidential term will not matter. The solution is obvious — and obviously not to be expected for sometime. A less obvious solution may be found which need not be a stop gap measure, since it would not lose its value with the advent of better days in politics. (We have brilliant, principled, and highly placed politicians right now, let there be no doubt of that, but they contend against overwhelming apathy and widespread unscrupulousness, thus far with little success) Perhaps if we could strike a compromise between the very flexible Parliamentary term of office, and our own rigid one, adopting a more positive basis than fear of Presidents, we might find a solution that would include the advantage of both the four and the six-year terms.—#

the rigid system in favor of a more flexible form of government



President Marcos's "we will fight!" stance on board the US nuclear-powered carrier Enterprise implies a hell-bent, total commitment to the American policy in Vietnam

FEAR OF FREEDOM

by HERNANDO J. ABAYA

● LET US climb down our high horse and think, shall we?

Let us take a respite from this fancied and obsessive challenge to greatness. That may come in time, but not, we hate to say, in four years, nor even in eight. Anyway, we cannot rush into greatness on silly slogans and regimented rallies.

So let us drop that and buckle down in earnest to the pressing and crucial challenge of our time: a return to reason and sanity in the conduct of our affairs as a sovereign and free people.

Now then, Considering with what disconcerting alacrity President Marcos sends his debonair envoy extraordinary Kokoy Romualdez jet-zooming to Saigon or to Washington to compare notes with his most trusted advisers on Vietnam perhaps we may be forgiven the impertinence if we ask whether the makers of our foreign policy have made an honest study of the nature of this sacred American commitment to Vietnam? And if so, whether, in the light of their findings, our own blind commitment to support the American war there can be justified in the national interest?

These are pertinent questions. For Mr. Marcos's war-like "we will fight!" stance not long ago on board the US nuclear carrier *Enterprise* implies a hell-bent, total commitment to the American policy in Vietnam, and this precisely is at the very heart of the agonizing soul-searching many conscionable Americans are going through these uneasy days.

Let George K. Kennan speak. At a hearing on Vietnam last February 10 before the US Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, this Princeton professor, who is recognized by fellow Americans as perhaps their foremost diplomatic expert, said of the American commitment:

"And finally, when I hear it said that to adopt a defensive strategy (as he had advocated) in South Vietnam would be to rat on our commitment to the government of that territory I am a little bewildered. I would like to know what that commitment really consists of, and how and when it was incurred. What seemed to be involved here is an obligation on our part not only to defend the frontiers of a certain political entity against outside attack, but to assure the internal security of its government (the puppet Ky's) in cir-

cumstances where the government is unable to assure that security by its own means.

"Now, any such obligation is one that goes obviously considerably farther in its implications than the normal obligations of a military alliance.

"If we did not incur such an obligation in any formal way then I think *we should not be inventing it for ourselves and assuring ourselves that we are bound by it today.*

"But if we did incur it, then I do fail to understand how it was possible to enter into any such commitment otherwise than through the constitutional processes which were meant to come into play when even commitments of lesser import than this were undertaken."

(Parenthetically, in an earlier article in this magazine, we adverted to a scholarly paper by the distinguished American professors, Arthur and Don Larson, the former an international affairs consultant to Mr. Johnson, disproving precisely the President's oft-repeated claims that he had inherited from his predecessors Eisenhower and Kennedy the commitment to defend South Vietnam.)

II

The implication is clear. To Kennan's mind, there is no valid American commitment to defend South Vietnam. Otherwise there would be a "constitutional" commitment by the US Congress.

But the hawks in the Fulbright Committee were unfazed. Senator Aiken pressed the question: "Assuming that we do have a commitment there, would you say there is any point beyond which we should not go in meeting that commitment?"

Kennan's reply: "These commitments as we now interpret them go very far indeed. They go farther than the normal military alliance. To commit yourself in any way to assure the internal security of another government, *means to commit yourself to interference in the most vital process of its own internal political life, and this seems to me a commitment of such seriousness that it should not be lightly or casually slipped into...*"

Another hawk, Senator Symington, persisted: "Morally, do you think we have the right to desert them (the South Vietnamese) and go to coastal

enclaves?"

(The "enclaves theory" envisages a holding action by the US forces along the Vietnam coast to assure a strong bargaining position at any negotiated settlement. It was advanced by General Gavin in his testimony before the Fulbright Committee and endorsed by such pundits as Walter Lippmann and Kennan.)

Kennan, bluntly: "Senator, if their morale is so shaky that without an offensive strategy on their part they are simply going to give up the fight, I do not think they are worth helping anyway."

As if to put the US Senate hawks in their place, Kennan read to them the following words from John Quincy Adams, spoken 145 years ago on July 4, 1821 but perhaps even more relevant today than it was then:

"Wherever the standard of freedom and independence has or shall be unfurled, there will be America's heart, her benedictions, and her prayers. But she goes *not* abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own. She will recommend the general cause by the countenance of her voice, and by the benignant sympathy of her example. She well knows that by once enlisting under other banners than her own, were they even banners of foreign independence, she would involve herself beyond the power of extrication, in all the wars of interest and intrigue, of individual avarice, envy and ambition, which assume the colors and usurp the standards of freedom. The fundamental maxims of her policy would insensibly change from liberty to force... She might become the directress of the world. She would no longer be the ruler of her own spirit."

III

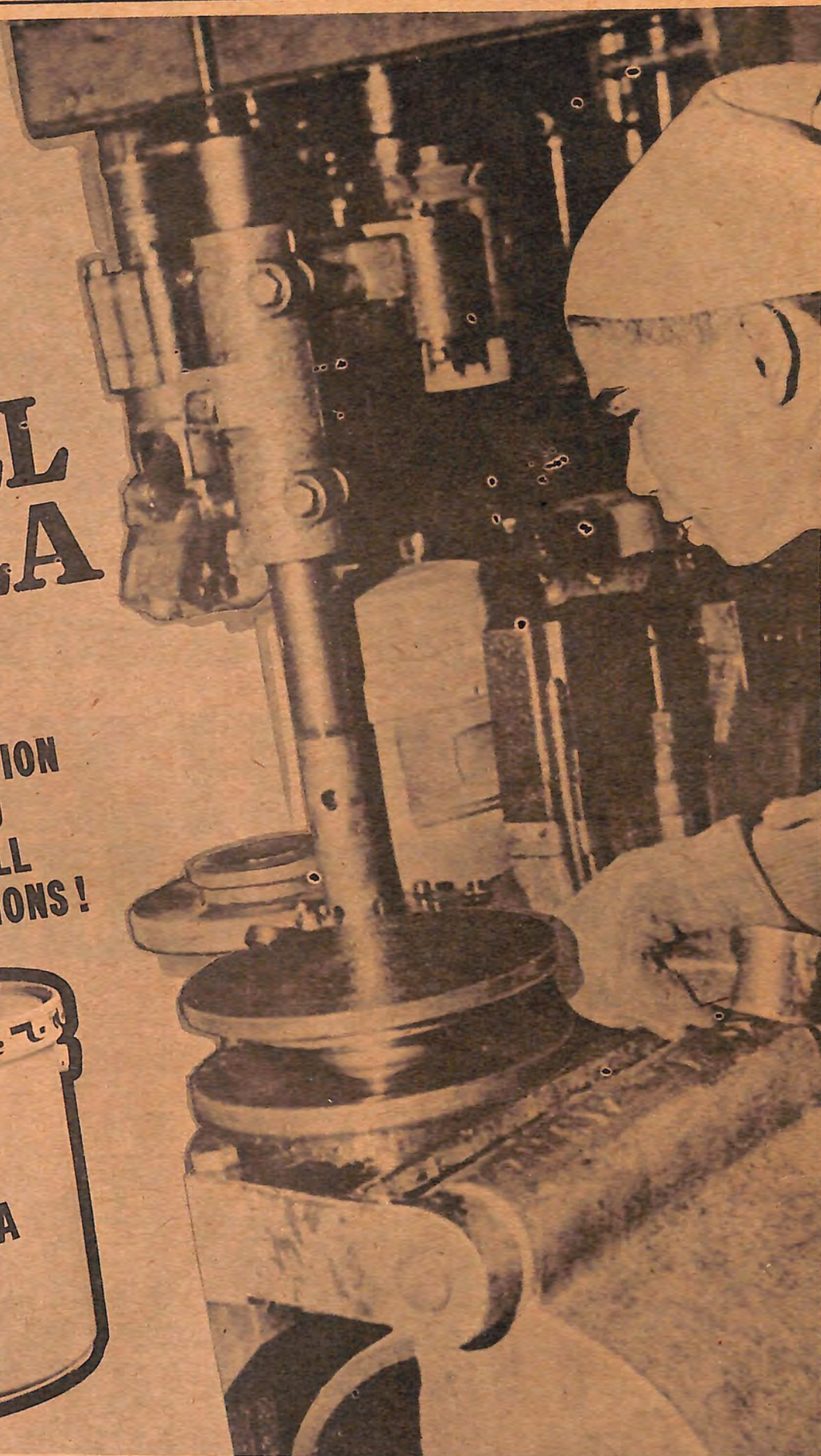
The resort to force to crush libertarian movements. Give that globe on your desk a spin. The names come quickly to mind. The Philippines in 1898... the US commanding general's order to his men: Kill and burn. In more recent times: the coups that toppled Mossadegh in Iran and Arbenz in Guatemala. The abortive insurgency in Indonesia in 1958 (and 1965, too?) The CIA-blessed coup that liquidated Diem. The Cuban



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CIVILIZATION THE DELIBERATE

Concluding Article by **MANUEL L. QUEZON, Jr.**

● **ONE HEARS** of a beehive being described as a society of bees, an anthill called a society of ants, or even a group of apes, a society of apes.

This really is stretching the meaning of the word "society" too far: a society is something properly human. But there is this much truth in references to the examples taken from the animal world as societies: they are stable groupings of individual creatures, with a certain degree of organization, so that the group is more than a mere grouping of individuals. It is a kind of negation of the mathematical formula that the whole is equal to the sum of its parts.

In an organized group, the whole is more than just the sum total of its individual parts. The relationship between the parts makes the whole something new, so that the whole is more than the addition of the individual units that make it up.

An anthill, for instance, is a kind of miniature city, with the ants performing their various tasks systematically. They constitute a form of organization, a kind of organism.

However, in one respect, an anthill or a beehive is closer to a machine than a society or an organization in the strict sense of the word. The parts of a machine are meaningless apart from the machine, their sole purpose being to serve the function of the machine, to enable the machine to work.

The carburetor of an automobile engine has no other purpose except to enable the engine to work. No one in his right mind would make a carburetor unless he intended it to be used in an en-

gine. Nor do people make an engine for the sake of a carburetor.

Similarly, an ant serves a purpose in the anthill, the anthill is not for the sake of the individual ant. True, the anthill is directed toward the preservation of the species, but not as individuals: the anthill keeps the species of ants going. The individual ant is of no consequence. There is a perfect subordination of the ant to the anthill, no subordination of the anthill to the ant.

The beehive is about the same, as are the apes, although the latter are somewhat different, being a higher type of animal. For this reason, namely that animal groupings are organized but do not properly form a society or organization, there is no such thing as a developing anthill or beehive or ape society. As long as ants are ants, bees are bees, apes are apes, their "society" remains the same.

A SOCIETY of men, on the other hand, does progress — it can of course retrogress. It becomes more advanced, more civilized — it does sometimes unhappily go in the opposite direction. It has its ups and downs, and very often it is moving up in one respect and down in another.

The type of immobility of animal groups is absent, at least over periods of time. The reason lies in the fact that the individuals of a human group are not totally integrated into the group. They are not mere units or parts whose sole and unique purpose is to subserve the group — society.

They are not just parts of a machine

whose entire reason for existence consists in keeping society in existence and operation. They are not entirely submerged in society, nor is their identification with society complete. They simply are not made that way.

This is one explanation why the regime of Benito Mussolini could not be a complete success, or that of Hitler, or of a Communist country.

The word totalitarian actually originated in Fascist Italy, whose philosophy was: "Everything for the State, nothing outside the State, nothing against the State." The State was to be the whole, the totality, and individuals were considered entirely as functioning parts of the State. The State was interested in the welfare of the citizens so they would serve the State, in no way for the sake of the citizens themselves.

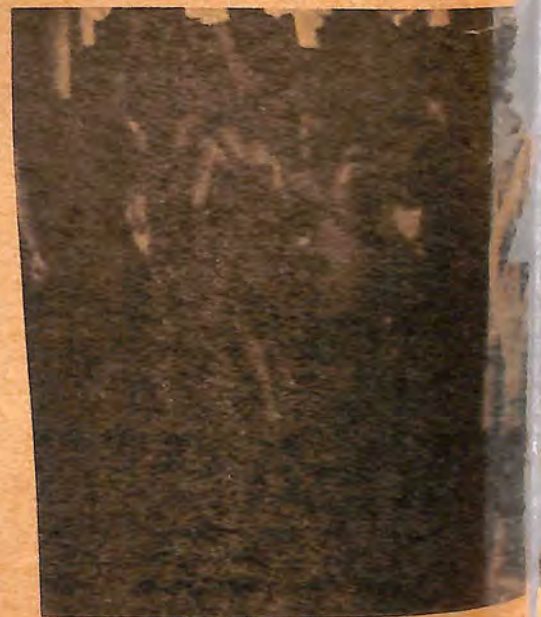
Nazi Germany's basic philosophy was the race as the be-all and end-all, rather than the State. In classical Communism, the class is the totality. In other words, human anthills. It was impossible to carry out Nazism and Fascism to their ultimate conclusions, and Communism has also been incapable of total implementation.

In the two previous cases, it might be argued that Nazism and Fascism were destroyed by force of arms and could have achieved success; in the case of Communism it may be pleaded that it has not gotten a fair trial yet, due to the shortness of time.

In answer, we can say that the continuance of such systems for whatever length of time they did or do exist, rather than a shorter time, should be at-

tributed precisely to the fact that total implementation was not insisted upon. While the theory was maintained, practice was and is a different matter.

Either due to a degree of common sense or to force of circumstances, or more accurately to force of circumstances bringing the respective dictators to their senses, theory was not pushed to its logical consequences. A complete disregard for what man is, what his needs are, going as they do beyond and rising above submersion in the State, the race, or the class, would induce a degree of tension impossible, to maintain, unless men could be physically and psycholo-



A-go-go teenagers swinging and jerking



AND ACT

gically crushed.

If history is a safe guide at all — and totalitarian regimes are unusually addicted to history as a basis and justification for their systems — we have two lessons to learn.

History has seen innumerable dictatorships collapse. Where a dictatorship — although it may not have been called that, nor was that in the precise modern sense of the word — was maintained for a long time, stagnation first, then regression was the result.

Stagnation was the result in the Inca Empire, in China and other cases, then destruction by force. Stagnation and re-



and sweating it out on the dance floor

gression was the result in Egypt. When you try to turn human society into an anthill, with near-complete success, you get, not an anthill, with its stationary condition, but a poor imitation of one, because it degenerates, where at least the anthill cannot.

What makes progress possible in human society and impossible in the anthill?

The reason is simple enough — the operations carried out by ants in an anthill are carried out entirely through instinct. There is no element of free choice.

The ants are very much in the position of a guided missile aimed at a target, the controls pre-set — except of course that a guided missile may go astray due to malfunctioning whereas an ant's instincts cannot go wrong. The instincts are "set", as it were, once and for all, by the Creator of the ants, and so will not go beyond what they are made for, excluding — which is possible — outside interference.

Human beings, belonging in part to the animal world due to their bodies, have instincts, and presumably more highly developed ones. However, man belongs in part, the higher part, to the spiritual world. The guiding force is, or at least can be and should be, the intellectual part, intelligence and will, and these are not pre-set, except that the mind is made for the truth and the will is made for the good.

Since truth is unlimited, as is good, there is a kind of infinity in the intellectual part of man (unlike his instinctive part) which allows for continual progress, if man so chooses, which is not all the time.

CIVILIZATION consists precisely in the mind and the will exercising control over man's activities, and subordinating his instincts to mind and will. Instincts are not destroyed — they may be warped, they may be suppressed, they may be, and would to God they always were, elevated.

The extent to which men allow their instincts to govern their lives, in contravention of the proper order of things, drags men down towards the anthill. The achievement of a higher level of culture and the progress of civilization are, in the last analysis, dependent on the way they break the bonds of instinct tending to tie them down to quasi-mechanical behavior, and use their intellect and will. This involves continual struggle — a struggle so relentless and sustained that progress is never a continual upward curve, it has its ups and downs.

What we really mean by progress, if we view the history of societies and civilizations, is a jagged line manifesting a general upward direction.

Mention of progress, and an upward direction, inevitably raises the question of what we mean by progress, for without an understanding of the term, we cannot gauge whether change is progressive or regressive, whether we are dealing with a movement of construction or disintegration.

Since we are dealing with society in the proper sense of the word — something human — progress can only be gauged in human terms. Progress then must be qualitative rather than quantitative. It is essential that we understand this, living as we do in an age when numbers, size, and speed are so emphasized.

With the dawn of the space age, and

man's knowledge reaching farther and farther out into space by the use of radio telescopes, it has become fashionable to talk of the insignificance of man compared to the reaches of space, of his being nothing and less than nothing compared to the material universe. The astonishing facts and figures culled by scientists from their investigations lead men to conclusions diametrically opposed to the right ones — they make men feel dwarfed, reduced to a state, not of humility but of abjection.

The mere fact that scientists, men, can learn so much should rather lead to the conclusions so beautifully expressed by Blaise Pascal in his "Pensées", a classic of Christian thought:

"Man is but a reed, the most frail in nature; but it is a thinking reed. It is unnecessary for the entire universe to take up arms in order to blot man out: a vapor, a drop of water, is enough to kill him. But when the universe blots him out, man will still be more noble than that which kills him, for he knows that he dies, and the advantage that the universe has over him, the universe knows nothing of. . . . In no way am I to seek my dignity from space, but rather from the ordering of my thought. . . . Through space, the universe contains and engulfs me like a speck; through thought, I contain the universe. Reason commands us more imperiously than a master, for in disobeying the latter one is unfortunate, in disobeying the other one is a fool."

Progress in society and in civilization is to be gauged, then, in terms of thought. The capacity of any given society to produce in fantastic numbers, or to provide its members with physical comforts is at best an indication of progress, an indication to be handled with care.

Material advances of the type mentioned may be an indication of the exact opposite of progress. Just what purpose do they serve? How are they integrated into the true purpose of society and civilization, which is human progress?

If material advances serve the purpose of facilitating the exercise of thought, of knowledge helping man to be more consistently and truly human rather than pushing him downward towards the anthill, material advances are a reliable index of progress.

Civilization then is advancing, and is a potent force in making each individual more civilized. The totality is serving its individual parts, which it is intended to do, since those parts are wholes in themselves. But contemporary facts point in the opposite direction.

More than one contemporary thinker has pointed out the direction contemporary civilization is taking.

Except for those directly and, so to speak, professionally engaged in scientific and cultural work, the tendency of contemporary society is towards the mass society, a society bureaucratically and psychologically oriented towards the anthill. For every use of scientific knowledge for truly human advancement, there are 10 uses propelling man towards instinctive behavior. The tendency towards regimentation, towards the production of stereotypes, is felt by people, and they try to break away from it, but they do not realize that the means they choose leads precisely to a justification for greater regimentation, and to facilitating greater regimentation.

The break with all forms of classical tradition, with established morals and manners, is a kind of revolt against the oppression of a society organized on

mass lines.

The unrestrained dancing so common today, to take just one example, is looked upon as a way to free oneself from the restraints of society, of civilization. It is in reality a leap from the frying pan into the fire.

It is a regression from behavior derived from, and dictated by, reason, which is free, to a surrender to instinct and passion, which are enslaving and blind.

Contemporary civilization is making reversion to the primitive, to the instinctive, ever easier by confusing man

It is individual men who pull society upward through the proper use of the mind, the will, and man's instincts



STALIN



HITLER

as to what really constitutes civilization and masking the basic downward movement of civilization behind a mass of apparent advances.

What happens to the individual in all this? It is becoming more difficult for him to be a truly civilized man in the midst of an increasingly false civilization. Without constant reference to the criterion of civilization, which is the rational, moral man, he is easily swept along with the tide of regression to primitive, predominantly instinctive society.

And yet it is individual men who gradually pull a civilization upward. Self-restraint, consideration for others, the use of the mind and the will to utilize instincts properly instead of allowing them to enslave men — these are increasingly regarded as old-fashioned and passé. But what can be more old-fashioned than the oldest thing, which is primitiveness?

It is ironic, but probably true, that without machines, without refrigerators and air-conditioners and movies and printed books, Cicero, who lived two thousand years ago, was more civilized than most of today's so-called civilized men.

It is within the individual's power to continue the upward climb of civilization within himself and indirectly outside him, even if all around him it may be following a downward curve. It is his glory if he does, his shame and punishment if he does not. It is not only on the battlefield that courage and heroism are called for.—#

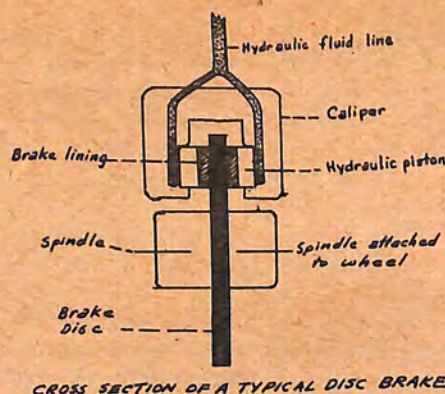
MOTORIZING

by A. H. MOMBAY

The disc and drum types of brakes

● THE increasing agitation for more safety features in a modern car has brought about the emergence of disc brakes in some 1967 models made in the United States. While some models have disc brakes as standard equipment, others offer it as optional accessory at additional cost.

The appearance of disc brakes in American cars in 1967, does not mean, however, that these are new developments in the automotive field. This type of brake first made its appearance in England in 1902. Today most European cars use disc brakes. Some use disc



brakes on all four wheels, while others use discs on the front wheels and the old type drum brakes on the rear wheels.

Why are disc brakes becoming more popular? What makes them better than drum type brakes?

The old, drum brake utilizes a pair of brake shoes that are pressed outward against the inner surface of the brake drum. This system, for sometime, has been considered sufficient to stop vehicles within a certain distance. The efficiency of this system depends partly on the area of brake surface in contact with the drum and mainly on the diameter of the drum. The width of the brake shoes and lining is limited since wider brake shoes have a tendency to warp. This seriously affects the efficiency of the system so that engineers have to limit the width of the brake shoes. The diameter of the brake drum is also limited by the size of the wheel. Today modern cars in the 3500-pound weight class use 9-inch brake drums. Ten- or 11-inch brake drums would give these cars better braking power, but as we earlier stated, the size of the wheels puts a limit on how wide the drum could be.

Since the drum type is almost enclosed on all sides, and because of the position of the braking surfaces, it takes a longer time for these brake surfaces to dry when a vehicle passes through deep water. Wet brake linings means loss of stopping power. The drum type is also subject to brake fading, a condition that becomes dangerous when the vehicle has to traverse an exceptionally long downgrade such as found on Ken-non Road.

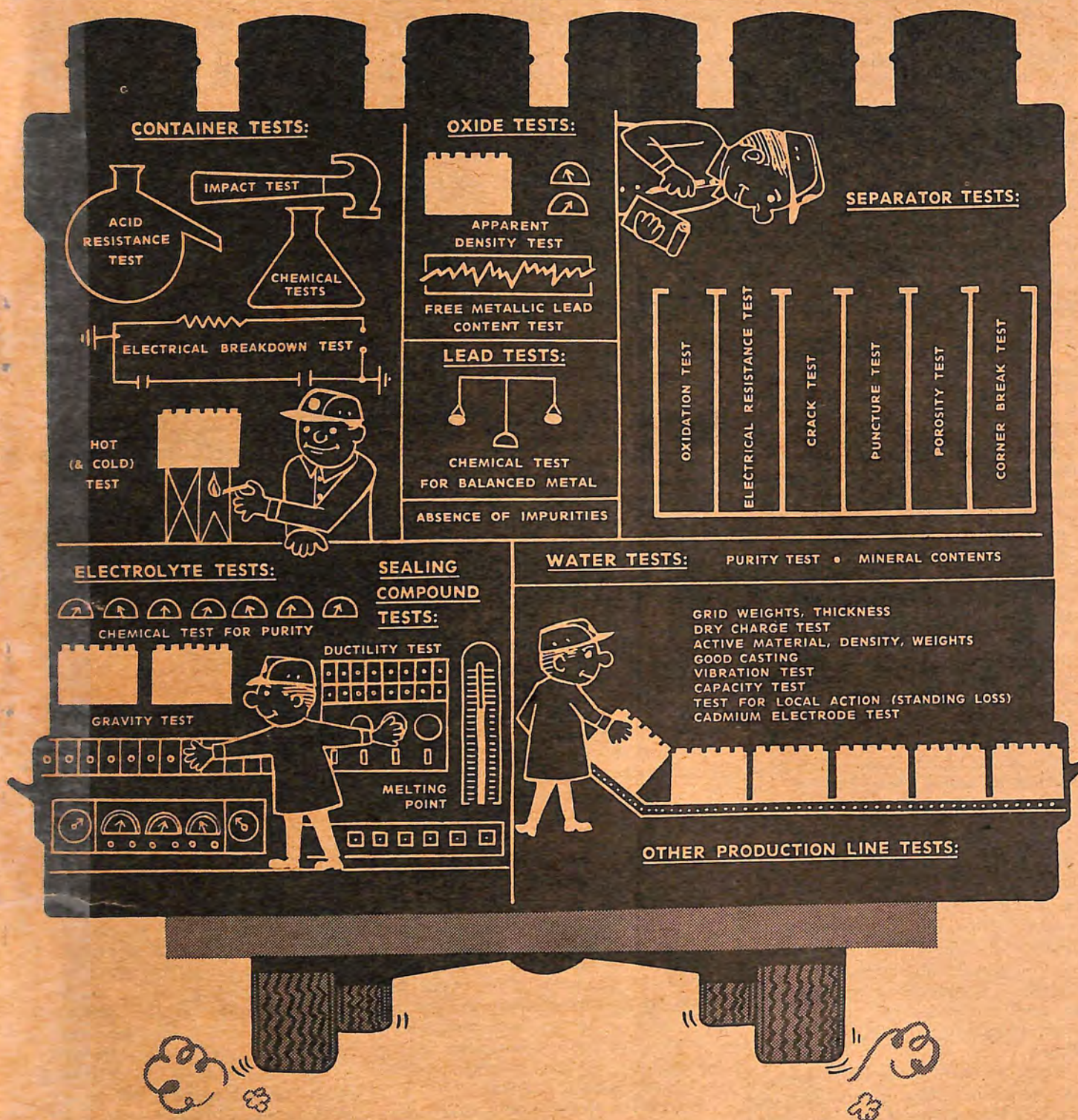
The disc brake is not easily subjected to brake fading and drivers riding on cars equipped with such brakes find that consistent braking power is always available when driving down long and steep roads. The same reliability and consistent performance is exhibited in fast drives on long stretches of highway, even when constant braking is required.

The disc brake operates in an entirely different manner from the drum type. Instead of a hollow drum, it has a disc which is "pinched" by a set of brake pads mounted between a caliper housing (see illustrations). The operation is much simpler than the drum type. Changing the brake pads or servicing the brake is also much easier.

While the drum type operates with an average of 300 pounds per square inch at temperatures ranging up to 800 degrees, the disc type requires an average of 1200 pounds per square inch pressure and operates at temperatures of more than 1000 degrees. These factors require an entirely different type of brake linings for disc brakes. The brake pads or linings must withstand higher pressures and temperatures and must also be resistant to wear. Because of this disc brakes are provided to require less downtime and have longer service life than the drum type.

Since the front wheels take the greater burden in stopping, many European cars provide disc brakes for the front wheels and drum brakes for the rear. The pressure to the front and rear brake systems is controlled by a proportioning valve which allows pressure to be distributed accordingly to both front and rear brakes.

With the widespread use of dual braking systems and disc brakes in the 1967 models, safer driving is assured the public. Automotive engineers are not content with these developments and constant researches are being made to provide better braking for cars under all driving conditions.



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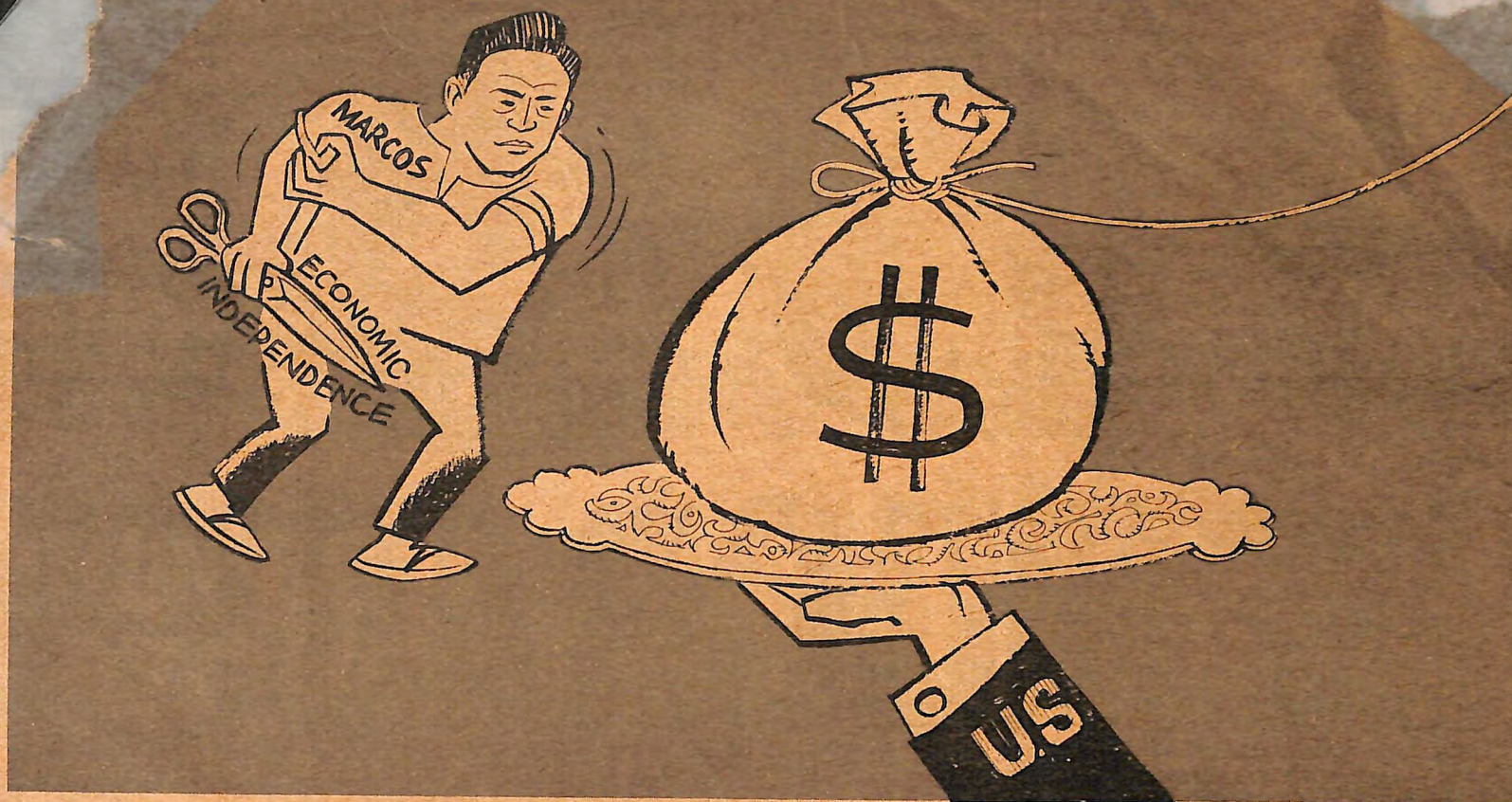


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The burdens of US aid

• IT IS to be hoped that the sneaky manner and the contemptible views of US Congressman Clement Zablocki on Philippine-American relations do not represent those of the Johnson administration. For if they do, and President-elect Ferdinand E. Marcos stands firm in his announced desire to solve our economic problems without American assistance in the meantime, some irritations may be in store for the Philippine and American governments in the coming years.

Fortunately, the position defined by Mr. Marcos, whose chief virtue is that it is a long overdue assertion of Filipino dignity, also serves the added purpose of forestalling anxiety over any conflicts in future Philippine relations with the United States.

As long as the courage and sense of independence reawakened by Mr. Marcos continue to exist, Filipinos need not be uneasy, as many of them have been under previous administrations, about incurring American displeasure. It should even be possible to welcome a renewal of those old acts of US superciliousness, its threats, impositions, and deceptions, if only to provide further propulsion to President-elect Marcos's economic policy of independence.

In retrospect, the wide gulf between American protestations of friendship for the Philippines and US government maneuvers to supplant that friendship with actual acts of fraud or intimidation, bears a strong resemblance to the behavior of Rep. Zablocki during his recent visit here with eight other US lawmakers.

It will be recalled that Mr. Zablocki at one time during that visit declared, rather expansively, that "the Philippines is first in the hearts of Americans." Hardly a day later, he revealed the real character of American attitude to this country when he suggested that parity rights for Americans should be extended, the lease on American bases here should not be less than 25 years, and the Philippine government should send troops to South Vietnam.

All these, said almost in the same breath as his expression of solicitude for the incoming administration in its tackling of economic problems, provide an inkling that the fraudulent character of US policy in the Philippines may not be entirely a thing of the past.

There is more than passing significance, in this connection, in the comments of *Life* magazine and subsequently of the *Wall Street Journal*. Both publications meticulously portrayed the Philippines as a country almost hopelessly bogged in economic decay and corruption in government, and took special care to belittle President-elect Marcos's qualifications and ability to cope with these enormous problems.

For publications which are themselves deeply in hock to vested interests, the efforts of *Life* and *Wall Street Journal* are indeed pathetic and strange, for — as Mr. Marcos himself has said — if he is in hock at all, he is in hock only to the national interest.

A pattern is here discernible: with their reputation as mouthpieces of American vested interests, those publications are obviously engaged in conditioning the public mind here and abroad to condemn as ineptitude and villainy any insistence on Mr. Marcos's part to implement an independent economic policy.

In this way, the US government can intimidate the Marcos administration into subservience with the threat of continuing poverty and chaos as a result of our failure to take advantage of American "benevolence."

Meantime, it is refreshing that a Filipino could, as Mr. Marcos did, deliver to an influential American a primer on national dignity, and a short course on the substance of foreign aid as well. Americans are fond of proclaiming themselves as the Filipino people's tutors in democracy; Mr. Marcos has shown that they can themselves learn from Filipinos a few other valid things, such as the indispensability of economic independence to a nation's self-respect.—#



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DEMOCRACY &

by MANUEL L. QUEZON, JR.

● DEMOCRACY HAS BEEN defined in many ways. It has been called government by public opinion. If this is the sole and adequate definition of democracy, then we have in our country not a full-blown democracy, but its pale beginnings, and our pride in our system is sadly misplaced. But democracy is also described as a system of government in which those who govern are freely chosen by the people and may be freely changed by the people at legally determined times. By this standard, we do have a democracy and let no one doubt it.

Democracy, again, is defined as self-government, not in the sense of being independent of foreign rule, but in the sense of the people governing themselves, in a fashion more or less direct, to a greater or lesser degree, but effectively. This seems to me the most acceptable of the three chosen at random, expressing as it does, more explicitly than the other two, the democratic spirit and the broad way it is to be realized. It stresses continuity in the process of self-government, rather than the sporadic activity of elections.

There is, however, an intimate relationship between the last definition of democracy and the first. The continuing process of self-government is possible only if public opinion exercises a decisive influence on the government. I invite the reader to consider the effectiveness of public opinion on the classical ancient example, Greek democracy, and on the Philippines, today.

The Greek Consensus

In a primary or direct democracy such as ancient Athens, the citizens were all entitled to gather together, discuss issues and pass laws together. Due to the closely knit character of Greek society and the very small territory and population of the Greek polis or city-state — about the same as our smallest prov-

ince, as well as the simplicity of issues and problems in ancient times — it was easy for the entire body of citizens to be familiar with issues and policies, and the character and mood of individuals eligible for public office. Under such conditions, it was possible for public opinion to crystallize into a consensus or into clean-cut points of view, to be given effectiveness by the assembly of citizens, or these modified or even reversed in the course of free discussion. Although it is unlikely that all or even a majority of Athenian citizens attended the full yearly assembly — we have a record of an instance in which of 34,000 odd citizens, roughly one-tenth or about 3600 attended — nevertheless it was most unlikely that the assembly would legislate or determine on policies contrary to the people's desires.

This was due to the previous crystallization of opinion and to the small total population, so that those who did go to the assembly consciously or unconsciously, but almost necessarily, reflected the views of their fellow-citizens who failed to attend. In a small community in which everyone's life was considered everyone else's affair, it would have required a degree of individualism and, above all, hard-headed courage — perhaps the word should be brazenness — far beyond the average, for a man to go back to his neighbors, knowing that he had worked against their desires and convictions and, worse, knowing that they would know it. Even if the assembly discussions modified or reversed his views, it is highly probable that the modified or reversed views would reflect, almost instinctively, what would have happened to his neighbors' views, had they attended, and consequently what would be acceptable to them.

The crushing weight of neighborly sentiment, with its effect on the individual, is known only too well to those who live in villages today. While it would

be going too far to assert that such a state of affairs guaranteed legislation and policy-making in conformity with public opinion in an absolutely foolproof manner, we are here very close to such an arrangement.

Today's Complexities

The system undoubtedly had its drawbacks. When the individual is so immersed in his community, original thought will hardly be at a premium, and is unlikely to be effective. Witness the political theories of Plato and Aristotle, influential only to the extent that they accorded with the pre-existent Greek spirit, and perhaps only in the less democratic states when they could be imposed. Nevertheless, if democracy is the rule of public opinion — enlightened or otherwise — democracy there undoubtedly was.

We find ourselves living not in a primary, or direct, but in a representative democracy. With few exceptions, today's representative democracies cover areas from thousands of square miles to millions, and count their citizens by the millions, tens of millions and even hundreds of millions. Contemporary society is extremely complex. The average citizen is hardly in a position to understand the immense majority of the laws, much less take an active hand in their formulation. Although the concept of the person, individualistic and sacred, over and against an all-absorbing community, has undergone development and refinement (not all authentic or balanced), in actual fact we are thoroughly enmeshed in the multitudinous tentacles of the all-powerful modern state.

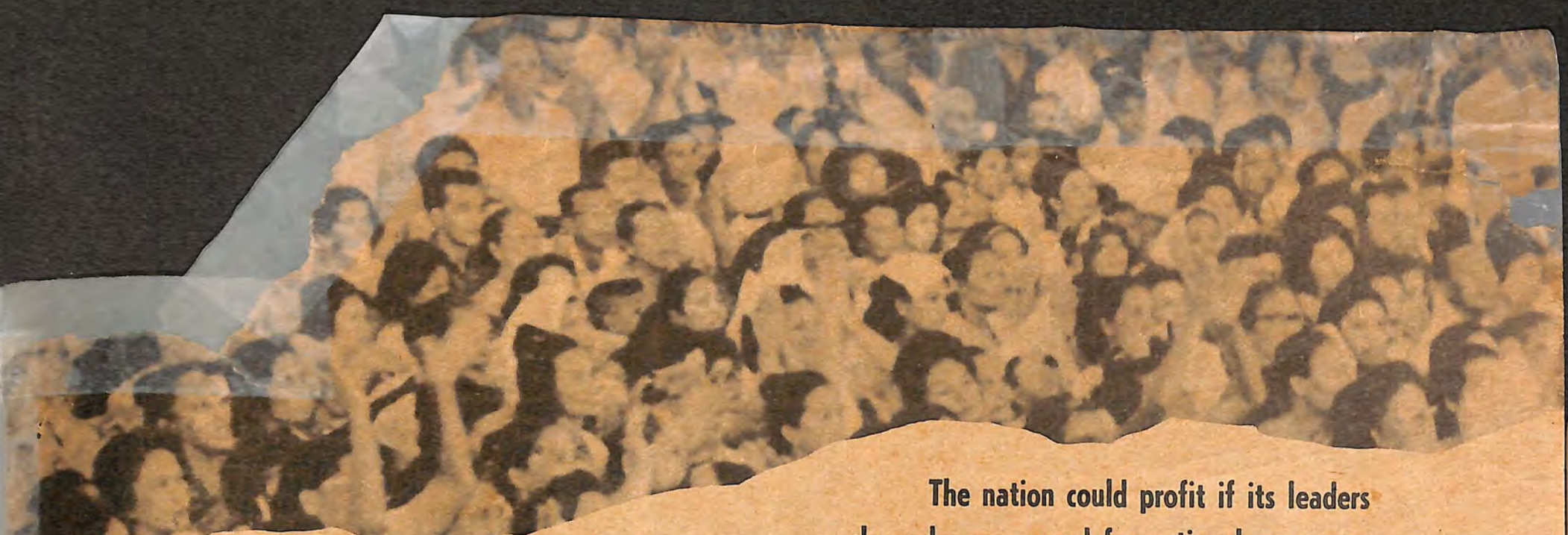
The Athenian farmer could go to the assembly, participate effectively, then go home and work his land, supporting himself and his family in almost complete economic self-sufficiency. Today's farmer may or may not be able to support himself and his family, depending

not only on weather, soil, and the presence or absence of pests, but also on the interplay of economic and political factors, from within and without the local and national community, factors tightly interrelated, with a relationship possibly unknown and even unimaginable to the simple farmer.

In these circumstances, it is perhaps inevitable that the average citizen should have a growing feeling of unimportance, of inadequacy, of helplessness in the face of the modern state, democratic though it may profess and intend to be. He easily feels that he is just another statistic to the millions of his fellow citizens outside the immediate circle of his friends and acquaintances. In such an environment, what becomes of government by public opinion? What becomes of the desire to form and express opinions seemingly doomed to disappear in the ocean of anonymity? Who can indulge in discussion vital to the formation of public opinion, without a sense of futility or a sardonic smile?

Importance Of Public Opinion

And yet it is precisely in the modern representative democracy that effective public opinion is of the highest importance. Modern representative democracy without strong public opinion may exist in name, in legal formularies and machinery, it cannot exist in fact, except in a sickly state, far from the democratic ideal. In the complexities of modern life, where to all practical purposes the business of legislation and governing must be left in its concrete realization in the hands of a comparative few, only a nationwide public opinion, enlightened, highly vocal and militant, can safeguard the democratic process. It alone can guarantee that those who make policies and laws shall do so, not for personal gain or out of caprice, but for the good of all and — for a conscientious



The nation could profit if its leaders
showed some regard for national consensus

PUBLIC OPINION

dictator can also do that — in accordance with what we might call the “public sense,” the convictions of the citizenry, their aspirations and needs.

The full choice of public officials in free elections does not in itself guarantee all this. We elect public officials for a fixed term, and once elected they are well-nigh free to do as they please, short of criminal acts (if so). Nor is it enough that we can turn those officials out on the street and elect others when their term of office expires. They must feel constrained by public opinion during their incumbency. They must feel obligated to respond to public opinion, even when legal resorts are not available. Only thus can we claim that we are governing ourselves *through* our representatives.

If the last two elections have been indicative of public opinion at all, they have been indicative of a negative opinion and a reaction of despair. A negative opinion, because the very divided vote partywise shows that the citizens do not see their salvation in any of the political parties. A reaction of despair because the changes of administration indicate a groping for one who offers hope of a change from prior ills. Surely negation and despair are unsatisfactory bases for a genuine, healthy democracy. They cannot be equated with public opinion as a dynamic factor in democratic government.

Certain Examples

If public opinion is so important, it remains for us to evaluate our system in terms of its relation to public opinion. How does our democracy measure up to the standard of effective public opinion? Rather poorly, it seems.

We had a classic test of the importance of our public opinion, for once widely voiced and almost unanimously felt outside the halls of Congress. I refer to the notorious Congressional al-

lowances. Here was an instance when voice after voice was raised, singly and collectively, in outraged protest. It would be sheer hypocrisy for anyone with a feel for public sentiment to deny the universal opposition to the measure. If Congress were duly responsive to public opinion, such a measure would not even have been entertained, much less passed and it would have been vetoed instantly. That there was any opposition at all in Congress and that the bill was ultimately vetoed indicates a modicum of responsiveness to public opinion. Whether and to what extent that responsiveness was dictated by the spec-



RALLY

Rallies often express popular indignation, as this one directed against huge solon's allowances.

tre of impending elections, it is neither necessary nor fair to judge. But a certain degree of responsiveness in this particular instance saves our democracy from a grade of zero out of a hundred. In a grading system from A to F, what would you give?

I shall cite two other examples. Take the issue of help to Vietnam. First of all, military help was requested. The reaction of our officials was, first, to disguise the proposed help as “technical” army engineers for supposed non-combatant work, but fighting men nonetheless. Then, before anything approaching adequate ventilation and public discussion of the issue, the proposal was rammed through the House of Representatives. Other matters prevented the Senate from acting favorably or unfavorably. There was not only a failure to allow the formation of public opinion, one can easily suspect a deliberate effort to confuse the public and to forestall opposition with an approved law. Such maneuvering was hardly necessary if favorable public reaction was expected. There was some expression of opinion on the issue, for and against, with the scales probably tipped slightly against, but certainly the measure passed the House before any clean tide of public opinion could be detected.

Remember, here was an issue of inevitable impact on our foreign policy and foreign relations, with many other potential repercussions. To make matters worse, it is not absurd to suspect outside pressure which could heighten even more the unnecessary tension in our relations with a friendly nation. How do we grade our democracy here?

The electoral campaign, mercifully past, is the last case I shall ask my overtaxed reader to consider. The manner in which some rabid partisans conducted the campaign undoubtedly elicited in our fellow citizens a feeling of disgust — the word is not too strong. I

am afraid the sense of relief at the end of elections greatly exceeded the elation of the victorious and the disappointment of the defeated voter. This state of affairs has led other nations to discard the entire democratic machinery of elections in favor of totalitarianism. But the rabid partisans — I do not by any means condemn all campaigners and campaigning — went their merry way, unaware or careless of possible consequences, blatantly callous to public displeasure. If politicians had a proper regard for public opinion, there would have been no question of who started it — such a campaign could never have taken place. Anyone in touch with the public — and the politicians were not merely in touch, they hounded the public — could not ignore the fact of general revulsion. Yet candidates could be confident of riding to victory roughshod over public opinion.

Fearful Diagnosis

If the force of public opinion is a criterion of democracy, the diagnosis is fearful. If public opinion means nothing more than its free but ineffectual expression, even a sufficiently powerful dictatorship could allow the same and claim the title and honor of a democracy.

Fortunately, there are other criteria besides public opinion for taking stock of our democracy, and by these criteria the prospect is not quite so bleak. Although public opinion is not now, crystallized, enlightened, and effective, there is no insurmountable obstacle to its becoming such. We have the freedom and some of the means to make public opinion truly effective. We can establish other means. It is up to you and me to encourage discussion and find ways of giving compelling force to its results. But time is running out. If we do not strengthen our democracy quickly, we shall not do it at all.—#



SANTO TOMAS

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY

by AURELIO B. CALDERON

With a firm hold on history, the list of Filipino heroes, statesmen it weaned is simply outstanding



SCHOLARLY HUBBUB

The specific end is intellectual, but more vital is the Christian orientation to intellectual life

● WHAT IS A Catholic university?

Years ago, an eminent Oxonian, Cardinal Newman, said — “A university, I should lay down, by its very name professes to teach universal knowledge.”

Well and good. But where does one draw the line between the broad term “university” and the determinate term “Catholic university?” Moreover, how does one set apart one Catholic university from another?

It is hard enough for a university to be what it ought to be. But rarely has the burden of being a university — and a Catholic one at that — been as heavy to carry as it has been the historic mission of the University of Santo Tomas to do so, throughout her 320 years of existence.

For one thing, a title as challenging as “The Catholic University” — even before it is defined — attracts all sorts of criticisms some of which, quite often, are ill-disguised reproofs.

Perhaps there is an element of the pompous in the term which serves as an unwitting bait for prejudice. But then perhaps prejudice, an effect, should not be confused with ignorance, the cause.

After all, the term “university” itself has become frayed in our time through endless argument over its meaning, not to mention the absurdities which have

been allowed to cover the once venerated name.

And of the term “Catholic,” how are universities like the Ateneo to be distinguished from San Carlos, Xavier from San Agustin, St. Louis from Santo Tomas?

Identity, it would seem, could be as baffling as the intricacy of university functions.

Venerable History

Actually, however, there is little to dispute, more so when identity is a matter of designation by the Holy See. For in 1948, even before controversy had been allowed to brew, UST — known as the “Pontifical” university since 1902 — was designated as the “Catholic University of the Philippines.”

And not without reason.

When Philip III granted the Dominican Fathers in Manila permission to found a college, the precursor of the University of Santo Tomas in 1611, William Shakespeare — having left London in 1610 — was living the life of a retired gentleman at Stratford, tending mostly to his garden with its lone mulberry tree.

When Santo Tomas was elevated to the rank of university in 1645, a professor at the University of Padua whose classes overflowed the largest hall and

who succeeded in getting even cardinals and popes to look at the planets revolving around the sun had been dead for only three years. His name was Galileo.

In 1645, John Dryden was 14 years old, Moliere was 23, and an upperclass Virginian named George Washington was not yet born. Louis XIV who was King of France, the mother of European culture, was only in his second year of reign in an age that was destined to usher in the Enlightenment.

Santo Tomas, no doubt, has a hold on history. It is the oldest university in the Far East. The rest had their foundations laid only either in the last century or the present one.

Thus, the University of Rangoon was established in 1920, Peking University in 1867, National Taiwan University in 1928, University of Indonesia in 1920, Sophia University (Japan) in 1928, Keio University in 1858, Kobe University in 1904, Korea University in 1905, Chulalongkorn University (Thailand) and Saigon University (Vietnam) in 1917.

There is, to be sure, the Sung Kyung Kwan University in Korea, reported to have been founded in 1400. But it ceased to function for many years and was only revived in 1945.

Again, there is the San Carlos University in Cebu, said to have been estab-

lished in 1595. As a university, however, this institution dates only to 1948, whereas the University of Santo Tomas became a university as early as 1645.

Furthermore, wherever the line is drawn by this or that historian, Santo Tomas, by universal consent, has produced more heroes than any other educational institution in this country.

Illustrious Alumni

Dr. Jose Rizal, the national hero, was educated in this university. And so were Marcelo H. del Pilar, Apolinario Mabini, Graciano Lopez Jaena, Felipe Agoncillo, Mariano Ponce, Felipe Calderon, Gen. Antonio Luna, Father Jose Burgos, and Emilio Jacinto.

No less than four Presidents of the Philippines are alumni of UST. They are Manuel L. Quezon, Sergio Osmeña, Jose P. Laurel, and Diosdado Macapagal.

Centuries-old Santo Tomas, in the realm of the Church, has produced 12 beatified martyrs, one cardinal, five archbishops, 43 bishops, and two Masters General.

However, one inescapable fact is that the educational temper of the current generation is seldom known to place a complete trust in history or even hold it in awe. History, one might observe, seems to have gone under a cloud.

So too has there been a fade-out in

zon and Rep. Joaquin P. Roces — recognized the reality that unemployment is still very much a big headache of the government when they recently introduced bills which would relieve the problem.

A comparison of the unemployment figures during the Macapagal administration and those of the present Administration should prove interesting. During the last year of the Macapagal administration, the number of unemployed ranged from 569,000 to 757,000. But in only the tenth month of the Marcos Administration, the number of unemployment had increased by some 100,000. The unemployment figure ranged from 832,000 to 952,000. Is this not proof that instead of being lessened, as the President had promised, unemployment has become worse under the present Administration?

EIGHTH PROMISE. — *President Marcos promised he would restore law and order in the country.*

One does not have to read the statistics of the NBI, the PC, and the local police agencies to know that the incidence of crime has gone up during the present Administration. Last year, there was a resurgence of Huk activities in Central Luzon. Late last month, there was a rash of carjacking cases in Manila and the suburbs. The criminals must have been emboldened by the inefficiency and the indifference of the police agencies because they became as brave as to steal even the cars of Vice-President Lopez and Senate President Tolentino.

had to issue a ban on the carrying of firearms outside residences.

NINTH PROMISE. — *President Marcos promised that his Administration would insure the people of honest tax collection so that the money they pay to the government would go back to them in the form of essential services and facilities.*

The Administration says that tax collection has improved, and cites statistics to support its claim. But these are all press release claims. If the Marcos Administration has really improved the collection of taxes, there would be little need for imposing new taxes, and yet we know that several tax proposals are being prepared for certification to Congress in the present regular session. The Administration should first improve and intensify the collection of taxes before it imposes new ones on the already tax-burdened public.

TENTH PROMISE. — *President Marcos promised he would institute economy in the government by reducing the national budget to essential services.*

Has he really been economical in the use of public funds? On the contrary, has he not been a very extravagant and spendthrift President? Did he not go on extended state visits to the United States and Japan, bringing with him scores, if not hundreds, of hangers-on who did not contribute a bit to the accomplishment of anything?

The state visits to the United States and Japan looked more like junkets and

If the state visits were expensive, the Manila Summit Conference was lavish. And just like the state visits, it accomplished nothing. It was billed at the beginning as a peace conference, but it did not contribute to efforts to bring about peace in Vietnam. If anything, it further stiffened the hardline of the belligerents on the side of United States and South Vietnam, in the Vietnam war. It was a war council, not a peace conference. It was another vehicle for projecting President Marcos into the limelight, creating a false image of him as a so-called "New Leader of Asia." The summit conference was also used by President Johnson to refurbish his poor image at the home political front. I doubt whether it helped either President Johnson or President Marcos gain stature in the field of international diplomacy. A reputation in foreign affairs is not gained by tons of publicity or image building or propaganda; it has to be earned the hard way by hard, quiet, but statesmanlike diplomatic work.

Estimate of expenses in the summit conference also run from P1 million to P2 million. I heard that even the funds of government institutions, like the Government Service Insurance System, were tapped just so President Marcos could impress his guests with a display of extravagance never before seen in Malacañang. While millions of his countrymen were going hungry, President Marcos and his friends were enjoying themselves in a showy and lavish barrio fiesta in Malacañang.

ELEVENTH PROMISE. — *Mr. Marcos promised he would not practise nepotism — that he would not employ his relatives in the government.*

Has he fulfilled his promise? Is it not a fact that Finance Secretary Eduardo Z. Romualdez is a relative of President Marcos by affinity? Is it not a fact that Special Ambassador Benjamin Romualdez is a relative of President Marcos by affinity? Is it not a fact that a sister of Mrs. Marcos has been suddenly promoted to a high position in the Central Bank? Is it not a fact that President Marcos, contrary to his promise, has packed the government with hundreds of relatives and fellow Ilocanos in sensitive and key positions?

TWELFTH PROMISE. — *President Marcos promised he would abide by the rule of law.*

So far, there is no indication that he is transgressing the rule of law. We hope that he keeps following the rule of law because it would be tragic for the country if it has a President who does not abide by the law but only by the dictates of political and personal expediency.

THIRTEENTH PROMISE. — *President Marcos promised he would not persecute political enemies.*

At the beginning of his term, the President seemed to be carrying out his promise. He even came out with a statement early last year that he would not tolerate vindictiveness toward former political enemies. But Mr. Marcos is human, and being human, he has not forgotten his grudges against the people who made life hard for him during the last presidential campaign. That is why, he is now reviving and raking up old charges against Senate Minority Floor Leader Padilla, Mayor Villegas, former

RCA Chairman and General Manager Jose Y. Feliciano, and former National Treasurer Amable Aguiluz. The next Liberal who is slated too for the chopping block, I hear, is former OEC Administrator Eleuterio Adevos.

FOURTEENTH PROMISE. *President Marcos promised he would pursue nationalistic policies.*

But it is one thing to make promises and public statements and another to translate these statements into decision and action.

Let us ask: Was President Marcos being nationalistic when he sent the Philippine Civic Action Group to South Vietnam at the prodding of the United States?

Was he being nationalistic when he decided to spend P35 million of the people's money on a foreign adventure, on a mission of unwarranted interference in South Vietnam, when his own government needs that money to provide essential services and facilities for his own people?

Was President Marcos being nationalistic when he legalized the illegal situation of so-called Japanese liaison officers in the Philippines, allowing them to do business here in the absence of a treaty or agreement governing their transactions in the country? Has this presidential order not prejudiced the interests of Filipinos and Filipino businessmen?

Was President Marcos being nationalistic when he declared that Americans and American entities are exempted from the purview of the retail trade nationalization law? Would it not have been the more prudent in this case to have waited for a decision by the Supreme Court, which, after all, is the final arbiter in the interpretation of the law?

It is easy to beat one's breast and proclaim himself a nationalist, but it is hard, especially for a man who has subservient attitude and a colonial mentality, to think, and decide and act as a real, independent Filipino.

FIFTEENTH PROMISE. — *President Marcos promised he would provide the country with heroic leadership.*

But how heroic has been the leadership of President Marcos so far? Has he inspired his countrymen, by deeds and example, and not merely by speeches and press releases, to work so as to make their nation economically and socially and politically strong? Has he inspired them with his leadership so that they would practice self-discipline, sacrificing present comforts in the hope of attaining a better life in the future? Indeed, has he even begun to give the momentum which would make the nation, to quote his own words, "great again"? Has the country progressed even a little during the first year of his Administration?

President Marcos made 15 campaign promises in 1965, but it now seems that he may not be able to fulfill substantially any one of them. At any rate, it is still too early to give a final assessment of the achievements of Mr. Marcos as President. But if his first year is an indication of how he will perform for the rest of his term of office, then I am afraid the Marcos Administration will go down in history as a mediocre Administration. I do hope, however, that I am wrong because, ultimately, it is our people who will suffer if the Administration of President Marcos fails.—#



erein Marcos, in the author's view, failed the people

tino. The theft of the cars of these high-ranking officials were virtual challenges flung in the face of the law.

In Manila alone, the incidence of crime has increased by 27 per cent. This was revealed by Police Chief Ricardo Papa himself when he testified before the House Good Government Committee last January 11. General Papa said that crimes against persons increased from 1308 in 1961, to 1481 in 1962, to 1700 in 1963, to 1675 in 1964, to 1467 in 1965, and to 1868 in 1966. Crimes against property, Papa said, totalled 11,000 in 1962, 11,900 to 1963, 11,270 in 1964, and 9000 in 1965.

But one only has to read the daily newspapers to realize how serious the crime situation has become lately. It has reached such a point that the President

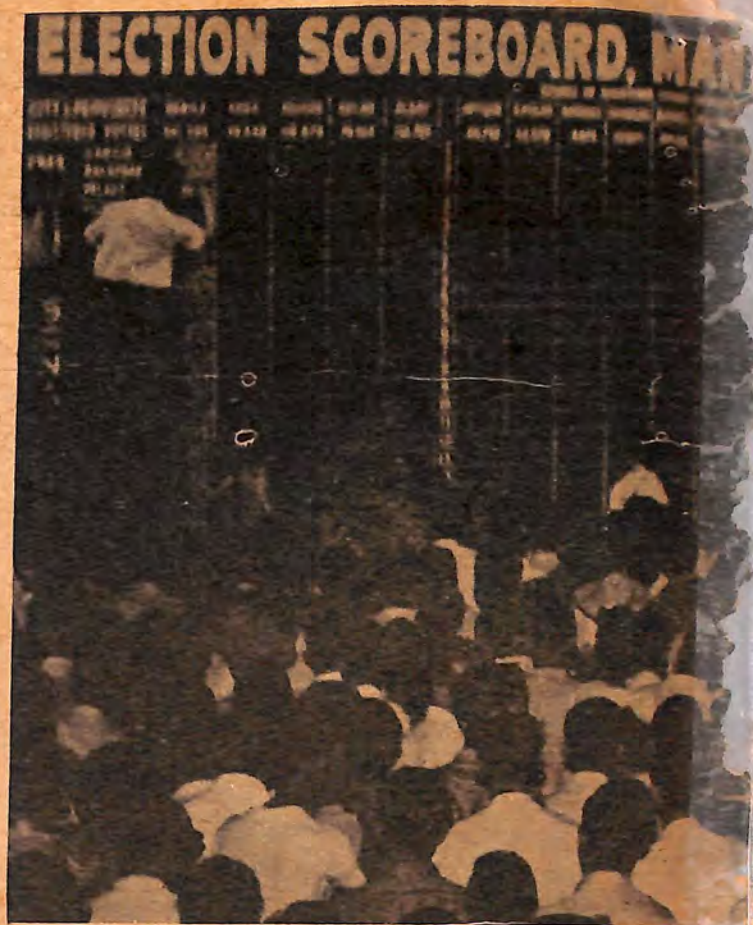
safaries befitting rich Oriental potentates instead of dignified state visits by the President of an admittedly poor nation in Asia. Up to now, despite demands by opposition leaders, like Senate Minority Floor Leader Ambrosio Padilla, President Marcos and Malacañang have refused to give a public accounting of the expenses incurred during the state visits to the United States and Japan.

Estimates of the expenditure in these junkets, however, run from P1 million to P2 million. Some P2 million in public funds — two million pesos of the people's money — was spent just to obtain tremendous publicity for the First Couple, not to mention President Johnson, who at the time was campaigning for the election of a Democratic majority in the US Congress.

DEMOCRACY-DIRECT AND REPRESENTATIVE

by MANUEL L. QUEZON, Jr.

Is it necessary in a democracy for every citizen to be heard by all?



● OVER 2000 years ago Aristotle created the classical division of different forms of government into the categories of monarchy, aristocracy, and ochlocracy (which we today take to mean democracy), according to the number of rulers who governed. He also classified the possible perversions of each form of government: tyranny, oligarchy and democracy (what we today call mob-rule). This Aristotelian classification, based principally on the Greek political experience, is still in currency today, even if its source is largely forgotten and true monarchies and aristocracies have almost disappeared.

Today, only that portion of his work dealing with democracy seems to have any great relevance. And it is precisely this aspect of Aristotle's thought that gives rise to the greatest misunderstandings.

It is very doubtful whether what we call democracy today would be accepted as such by Aristotle or by any of the ancient Greeks. To the ancient Greeks, democracy meant direct democracy; to us it means representative democracy. Although Athens itself had representative bodies to deliberate occasionally on certain matters and make decisions and laws, the most important decisions as well as a good number of the lesser ones, were by right, decided on by a full assembly of citizens.

A system whereby a group of persons would be chosen to legislate and govern for the citizens so that the citizens themselves cannot directly participate in such activities, such as is the case with our contemporary system of representative government, would hardly have gained acceptance as democracy among the ancient Greeks. They would, however, probably recognize democratic elements in such a system.

Which is preferable, the direct de-

mocracy of the ancient Greeks or our contemporary form of representative democracy? The answer is not quite as simple as one might suppose. There is something to be said for both sides.

Democracy has, no doubt, undergone a certain amount of watering-down in its change from the direct to the representative variety. In other words, the phrase "rule by the many" has undergone a considerable change in meaning without, however, losing entirely its original sense. It is easy to find illustrations of the change. A recurrent phrase in modern democratic constitutions is that "the people do not deliberate except through their lawful representatives." In Greek democracy, it was precisely the function of the full assembly of citizens to deliberate.

Again, the ordinary citizen cannot address today's deliberative assembly (the legislature) unless invited to do so by that body; he can only reach its ears or its eyes indirectly, through the mails, the press, radio or television—methods inconvenient and impractical for the average citizen. Moreover, due to the wide divergence of interests co-existing in today's democracies, as in all present-day nations, unbalanced legislation regarding the various interests is much more likely to be enacted when those interests are not proportionally represented in the deliberative body, a situation that comes about easily when voters do not turn up at the polls in sufficient numbers. In democratic ancient Greece, even if only a small number of those entitled to participate in the deliberative assembly turned up, the narrow range of interests existing within the State rendered unlikely the enactment of legislation prejudicial to portions of the population. The dangers of one-sidedness in modern legislation is recognized by the common constitutional provision

aimed against discriminatory and class legislation.

The most telling difference between old direct democracy and the modern representative type, however, probably has to do with the citizen's feeling of being able to influence public affairs. Self-rule, however vaguely or inaccurately it may be understood, cannot be separated from the idea of democracy. Direct democracy necessarily gives the citizen a feeling that he really can effectively influence legislation and government, that he is, at least potentially but very truly, his own ruler. In view of the fact that direct democracy is possible only in a very small country imbuing a citizen of today's large representative democracy with like feelings is a big problem indeed. Certainly, the average citizen can hardly hope to sway legislation in a manner even approaching that in ancient Greece. A sense of futility arises from this situation. The individual frequently asks: "What can I do?" a question that expresses an attitude fatal to democracy.

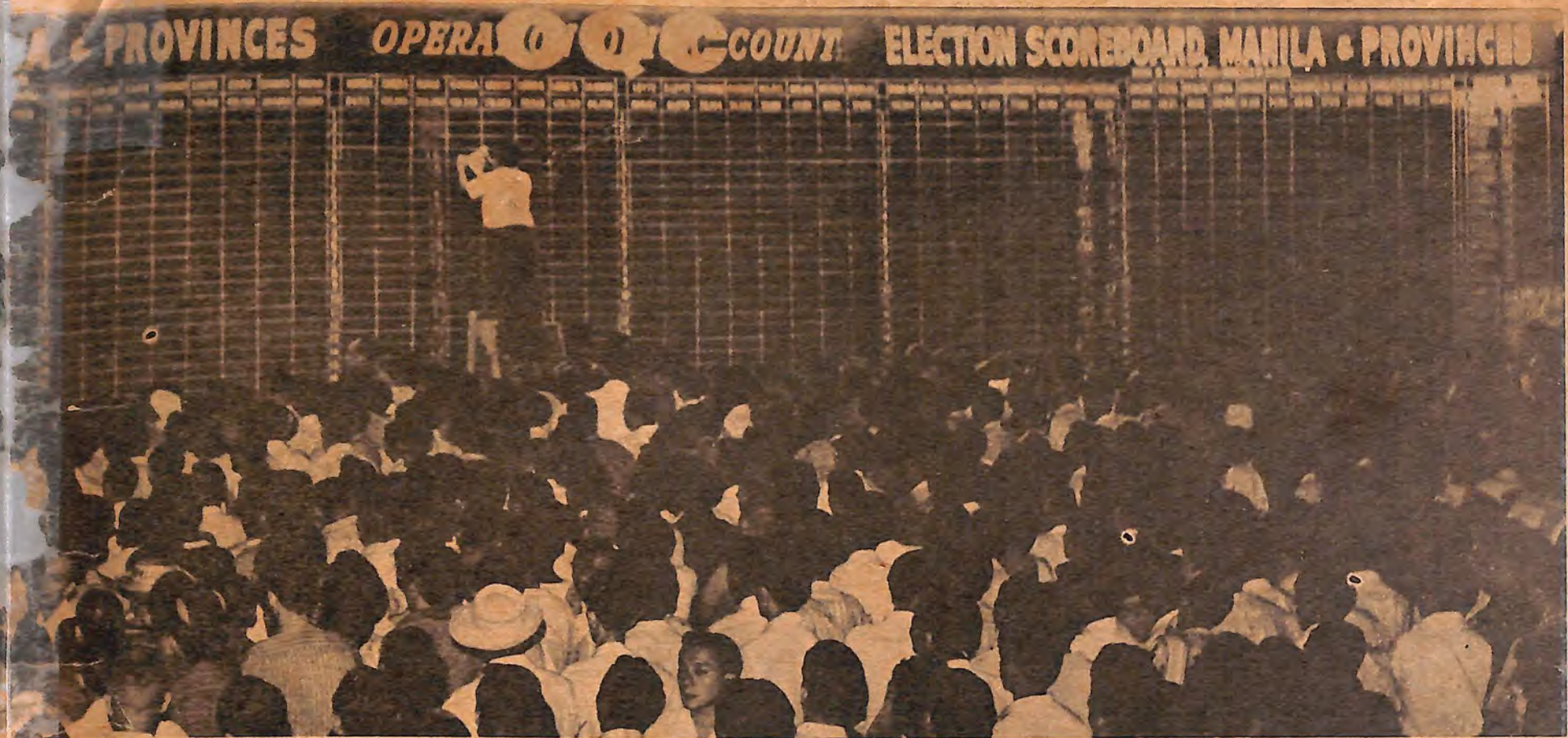
Basic Ideas On Democracy Reviewed

The question then arises: Is representative democracy a democracy at all? Disregarding cynics, skeptics, and other enemies of democracy, I believe I must answer with a yes. Such a system can truly be a democracy, that is, unless the conditions for its existence are absent or are destroyed. The conditions I refer to do not involve any begging of the question. I am not saying that representative democracy is democracy if the conditions for democracy exist,

meaning by those conditions the ones present in and constituting Greek direct democracy. That would indeed be begging the question. No, by "conditions for its existence," I mean conditions commonly acknowledged as necessary for the existence of "representative democracy" whether or not this last system can be deemed true democracy.

I would say that provided a representative democracy as commonly understood be a reality, it is truly democratic. If in theory and in practice it corresponds with what is commonly understood as representative democracy, then, it is genuine.

To understand this clearly, it is necessary to return to basic ideas, even at the cost of being trite. Democracy is a form of government which, like any other form of government, must be capable of functioning as a government, otherwise the term would be meaningless. Under present circumstances, direct democracy in the ancient model cannot be a practical possibility for nations which number millions. It does not take intellectual effort to realize that a million citizens deliberating on laws and the activity of governing would not only be difficult, it would be impossible. And how many States have populations of only one million? It is not only huge populations, however, that render direct democracy impossible today. The modern State and its interests and activities have become bewilderingly complex, so that legislation on details of its operations could simply not be deliberated on, in the sense in which we used the word previously, by millions; only a limited few could possibly equip themselves with the requisite knowledge and experience. Again, even under the impossible supposition that all citizens were endowed with the requisite knowledge and experience, the pressures of modern



living which engage individuals in other fields of activity, would prevent participation by more than a relative few in such deliberations.

Direct democracy is then a practical impossibility today, except perhaps in some tiny city-state, perhaps a protectorate of some larger state or sustained economically by the latter.

Should we, therefore, conclude that democracy is logically impossible? No. Here it is necessary to go deeper into the notion of democracy, to discover its truly constituent elements. Is it necessary in a true democracy for the individual citizen to take part directly in legislation or in the running of the government? Must he actually be heard by all? Must he, all alone, actually exert decisive pressure or influence on legislation or government? If the answer to these questions were affirmative, then we would have to conclude that democracy did not exist even in ancient Greece. We know for certain that the general assembly of citizens did not include all citizens in any of its deliberations. Some would not go, others could not. Whatever the reason, an actual gathering of all citizens does not seem to have been a practical possibility even then. The citizens, however, who did attend the general assembly were representative of the views of the citizenry, so that decisions reached in the assembly reflected the general opinion and desire of the citizens; refinements might perhaps be introduced in the course of discussions, but such modifications would most likely be representative of the thinking of other citizens. Thus, although legally and in theory, the assembly was supposed to be composed of all citizens, thereby constituting a direct democracy, in actual fact the general assembly functioned as a representative assembly, differing from modern democratic assem-

blies only in that under the former systems every citizen had a right to sit, although he did not necessarily exercise this right. It is otherwise in modern assemblies. Besides, as was already pointed out, certain representative groups were explicitly chosen as such. Therefore, it is quite enough that the individual citizen participate in legislation and the running of government by choosing those who shall do so and who he believes reflect his views; in broad terms they shall act for him in deliberative assemblies or in other government organs under their own initiative, enjoying a wide scope of action and judgment necessary for government to carry out intelligently and efficiently.

Requirements For A Truly Representative Government

It is obviously not necessary for the individual citizen to be heard actually by all. While the individual citizen has the right to speak out, there is no corresponding obligation on the part of his fellow citizens to listen, so long as they recognize his right to air his views without endangering the State or the common good. But the means to make a citizen heard should be made available to him.

It is true that under present conditions the individual seems lost in the crowd. It was not much different in the past. Unless he enjoyed wide support, the individual was likely to be a voice in the wilderness. Today, however, a small group can make itself heard in a manner out of all proportion to its size and strength. That was how Fascist groups made headway in the past and

how Communist groups are making headway today. Modern circumstances, in fact, render more likely the danger of small minorities giving the impression of majorities, an impression difficult to project in the past.

The possibility of making himself heard today increases the individual's capacity to influence legislation. It is not necessary for him actually to do so; the possibility is enough. If an outstanding individual wishes to influence public life, he can do so today as in the past. However, just as the run-of-the-mill individual could not sway the general assembly of times past, he cannot hope to do so today.

What then are the requirements that make a representative form of government genuinely democratic? What are some of the means that can restore to a certain extent the advantages of direct democracy?

Because democracy is predicated on the rule of the majority, it is necessary that those who represent the citizenry be truly representative of the majority. Democracy is distinguished from mob rule in that the former respects the rights of minorities so long as they are not inimical to the rights of the majority. An adequate guarantee of minority rights should therefore be safeguarded as an essential ingredient.

Those elected or appointed to positions of responsibility in government must remain under the surveillance of those who place them in such positions, and be legally and practically — not just theoretically — accountable to the citizenry at stated maximum periods. Such a provision would render it unnecessary for the citizenry to resort to violence as a defense against bureaucratic tyranny and oppression.

Since a majority view can only be considered truly such if there is adequate

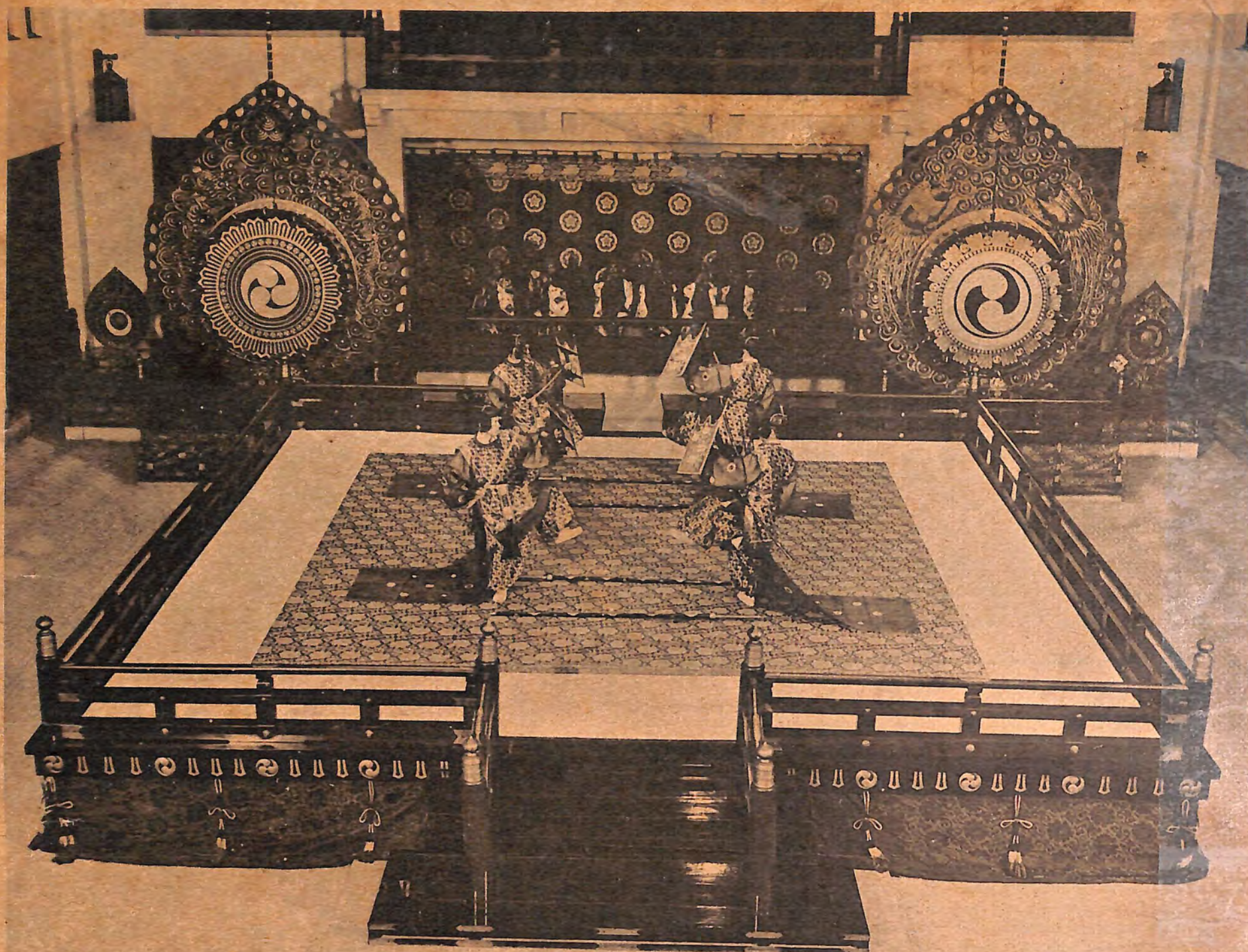
and intelligent discussion of issues, facilities for such discussions must be preserved and expanded, surely not an impossibility in view of present technical advances. Fundamental freedoms must be guaranteed and protected. Are these essentials present within modern representative democracies? They undoubtedly are, but in varying degrees. They are, therefore, truly democracies, although perhaps more or less imperfect.

They could be made to correspond more closely with the old ideal of direct democracy and this goal is already being pursued in some countries. The devices of the referendum and the recall are being revived in some countries to extend the power of the citizens beyond that of electing representatives and then calling them to account for any misdeeds. So is the element of initiative.

The pressure of public opinion is becoming an ever more powerful instrument of democracy, posing the great threat to democracy of representatives taking for public opinion in the sense of the desire of the majority what is in reality only the view of a highly vocal minority, as against the true majority.

As education advances and as the means made available by technology are increasingly utilized, a representative democracy approaching in practice the old direct democracy should be possible. Government today is more and more complex, a fact which tends to justify bureaucratization. It is one of the tasks, therefore, of the present age to put its knowledge to work and shove our system in the proper direction of democracy, the direction most consonant with and upholding the dignity of man under God. Let us do what we can to make our present system more and more effectively democratic.

The alternative, if we should fail, is horrible to contemplate.—#



JAPANESE DRAMA AND DANCE

by REBECCA OSIAS
GRAPHIC Correspondent in Japan

In drama and in the dance, the theater keeps
faith with the original conceptions

● JAPAN'S dramas and dances today give evidence to their 1300 years of uninterrupted history. In an Asia where changes are lapped up even while traditions are respected, Japan stands out as the only country whose theater in its entirety has never been renovated.

The Chinese theater might be documented as thoroughly but when it comes to living examples true to a theatrical tradition, it cannot hope to surpass Japan. Both in drama and in the dance, the Japanese keep faith with their original conceptions. They have preserved their traditions of hereditary acting families, conventionalized stagecraft, and archaic costuming.

One of the most impressive aspects of Japan's theaters is that they are profit-making and supported by a ticket-buying public. The Japanese theater is, therefore, genuinely professional. There are about 4000 theaters in Japan. All dancers and actors regardless of their specialization or theatrical type have that keen professionalism that is demanded by a critical international audience. Moreover, Japanese theater is dominated by a creative urge.

The varied theatrical schools that developed in the country over the centuries, while indebted to India and China, are nonetheless original and unique in their final Japanese forms. There is, as well, a considerable bit of inventiveness about the Japanese stage.

Nearly three hundred years ago, the Japanese constructed a revolving stage, freely using such devices as trap doors through which actors could rise and sink at will. They also developed lighting techniques which bathed the actors in sunlight or shadow. Moreover, their musical development was obliged to keep pace with their theatrical strides.

Japan is the only country in Asia that has a professional body of critics. Every newspaper has a staff of regularly paid special critics. A set is assigned to classical plays, another to modern plays. Critical articles by guest reviewers cram the pages of the country's several theatrical magazines and intellectual periodicals, the existence of critics and the profession of criticism being another by-product of good, professional theater.

The formidable presence of an ancient, classical theater has not at all intimi-

GRAPHIC

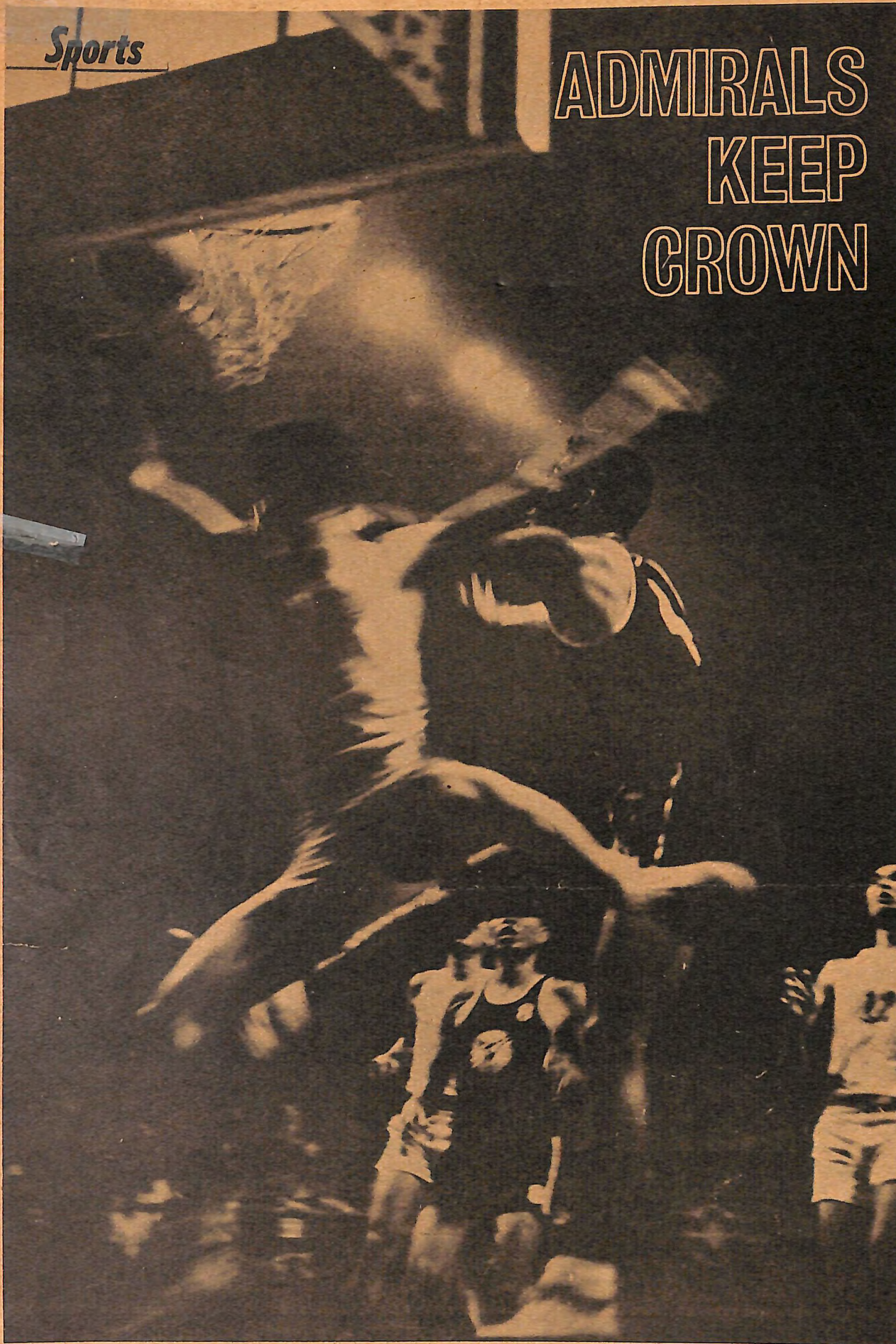
ADMIRALS KEEP CROWN

● YSMAEL — 81, YCO — 76!

An arsenal still has to be found to stop the black-shirted Admirals in the games that count. Despite the yanking out of erstwhile coach Fely Fajardo on the eve of the two-out-of-three championship series and the indefinite suspension slapped on team captain Manny Jocson for slugging referee Tito del Rosario in the second game, the Admirals ran roughshod over the YCO hoopsters Thursday last week to retain their fourth MICA title in the last five years, handing owner-coach Felipe "Baby" Ysmael his first championship.

Star forward Narciso Bernardo was unbelievably unstoppable, defying with aplomb YCO's double-teaming up on him, racking up 26 points in the process. Guard Orlando Bauzon was a revelation — his 16 points were the game's second highest — "Big Boy" Reynoso towered in the keyhole, hatchetman Alfonso Marquez was unerring in the pass-offs, and tiny Joaquin Roxas was magical in his interceptions.

After a 2-0 lead by YCO on a Pacheco jump-shot, it was Ysmael all the way, taking the first half by 14 (55-41), and nursing the lead which the Painters, stout-hearted all, kept nibbling at till time and luck ran out, despite the blurred streaks that were Eddie Ocampo and Freddie Webb and the clutch-hitting of Felix Flores and the "graduation" into the benches of five Ysmael aces.—#



MICA SIDELIGHTS

Left: The brawl which caused the disqualification of Ysmael's Manny Jocson from further MICA games. Top: Narciso Bernardo scores off YCO's Freddie Webb. Above: Part of the overflow crowd which attended championship game won by Ysmael, 81-76.

Aug 24, 1966

LANGUAGE: A PEOPLE'S SOUL

The reproach is not in learning a foreign language,
it lies in not knowing one's own as well

● ANOTHER National Language Week has passed and it is highly significant that more than 30 years after the adoption of the present Constitution with its provision regarding a national language, the question is still a question.

To many, the national language — Pilipino as it is now called — is a kind of fetish connected with nationalism and defended as such. From my personal experience, I find that those who attack the whole-hearted adoption of Pilipino are all too often people who cannot express themselves in it with anything approaching accuracy, elegance, or ease. This general atmosphere is hardly conducive to ending the ambivalent attitude toward Pilipino. Meanwhile, cultural development in the fields affected by language — and pretty nearly all fields are affected — is hampered, more seriously than we think.

The ambivalent attitude toward the national language — perhaps we should say a national language — is noted in our history. There could obviously be no thought of a national language for these islands before the advent of political unity.

Under Spain, although the language of government and Spanish society was naturally Spanish, the native tongues thrived. Even the Filipino households which formed part and parcel of the colonial society — and, therefore, used Spanish widely — never gave up the use of their respective local languages. This is in contrast with Spanish America where Spanish became the exclusive language of society and the various Indian languages took the form of a kind of exotic survival, spoken only by the uneducated, numerous though they might be.

At the time of the Revolution, a com-

pletely unequivocal attitude toward our language failed to develop. The proposal for a provisional Constitution prepared by Mariano Ponce in April of 1898, by order of Emilio Aguinaldo, made no mention of an official or national language.

The Constitution submitted by Apolinario Mabini to the Revolutionary Government in Kawit on June 6, 1898 under Title X — On Public Instruction, first requires the teaching of "the official language, which is Tagalog," at the elementary level, then the teaching of English at the next level, and the whole section ends with the statement that "When the English language shall have been sufficiently spread throughout the Philippine Archipelago *"se declarara idioma oficial."* Whether this meant that English would become an official language or the official language, there was no clear-cut preference for a native tongue.

The Malolos Constitution, under Article 93, stated that the languages in use in the Philippines could continue in use, their use could not be regulated except by law and only for the acts of public authority and judicial processes. For the latter two, Spanish was to be used for the time being. Again, a rather amorphous situation.

Article XIII, Section 3 of the Constitution of the Philippines, at the time of its adoption by the Constitutional Convention on February 8, 1935, provided that "the National Assembly shall take steps toward the development and adoption of a common national language based on one of the existing native languages. Until otherwise provided by law, English and Spanish shall continue as official language." Probably out of regard for regional sensibilities, it was not

deemed wise to select one native language. Consequently, the provision reads as though a fabricated language, a kind of Esperanto, was intended.

As we all know, an Institute of the National Language was established and Tagalog chosen as the basis of the national language, by a commission which included among others Don Vicente Sotto, a Cebuano. The Constitutional provision still plagues us, however, a standing witness to the strength of regionalism which makes an appearance at the most unexpected times.

Confused Attitude

Some years ago a lawmaker made a speech in Congress in the national language, only to have two or three other lawmakers (I forget the exact number) speak in their respective languages of their regions, producing a most unedifying Babel in the halls of Congress. I believe the alleged justification for the incident was that the original speaker was speaking Tagalog, not the national language. It would hardly have made sense to admit that the original speaker was using the national language, and then protest that he could not be understood. Surely, it is the duty of our lawmakers, more than anyone else's, to know our national language, and if they do not, none is to blame but themselves. However, let that pass.

Since at the present time, there is still a confused general attitude toward the national language, notwithstanding the Constitution, and legislative and executive action implementing and determining the Constitution mandate, I should like to offer the readers a few considerations on the subject.

Is a national language of our own necessary? If experience is a safe guide,

and we view language from the viewpoint of communications, a national language certainly is necessary. How many Filipinos can speak English with ease and accuracy even after receiving their entire schooling in English? Compared to the total population of the country, the number is astonishingly small. Even among our school teachers, the immense majority cannot in all honesty be said to know English well.

I am not being fastidious about this nor am I referring to elegance in the use of the language — after all, how many people ever attain elegance even in the language of their birth and which they speak all their lives? But it is all too obvious that teachers, who presumably know the English language better than most Filipinos since they use it for communicating knowledge to their students, are frequently and seriously defective in its use. As a matter of fact, even among those with advanced university degrees errors crop up in the use of English which in English-speaking countries are to be found only among those with a very elementary education or none at all.

The statistics, therefore, on the percentage of the population who speak English are deceptive. The majority of them have only a rudimentary knowledge of English, they fumble with words, the topics on which they can express themselves adequately are very limited. They are not at home in the language and obviously never will be.

Contrast this situation with that of non-Tagalogs who learn the national language (based on Tagalog) in the schools in non-Tagalog-speaking regions. Their pronunciation may at times be jarring to the ears of a Bulakeño, but then so is the pronunciation of other

by MANUEL L. QUEZON, Jr.

Tagalogs. But those non-Tagalogs often get to speak the language with greater technical perfection and a purer vocabulary than the Tagalogs themselves.

If those who come to Manila without any knowledge of Tagalog and just learn it by hearing and practice are an indication, the great practicality of the national language as a common language is beyond doubt. It takes a remarkably short time for them to speak fluently and with an accuracy which only a fussy person could criticize. Ordinarily, one without any knowledge of Tagalog could start speaking in two or three weeks, in a little over a month he no longer finds much difficulty and in a matter of months is at home in it.

When, therefore, statistics claim that a certain percentage of the population speaks Tagalog, the statistics are not as deceptive as those on English. I do not know just exactly how the statistics are compiled, but I believe that if being at ease with the language were included as a criterion, the relative statistics on English and Tagalog or Pilipino (whatever you may want to call it) would demand a considerable readjustment in favor of the latter.

Nothing Mysterious

This phenomenon — I have no doubt it would be the same if the basis of Pilipino were Ilocano, Pampango, Bicol, Cebuano, Ilongo, Waray, or any of the languages of the Muslim area, or for that matter any of the languages of the smaller minorities — is nothing mysterious.

No mystique of the blood or the race is involved. The explanation is to be found in the linguistic relationship between the languages and their parallel

development over a span of centuries. These factors are entirely missing when it is a question of learning English. In fact, for some reason I have not troubled to investigate, Spanish would actually be less unsuited to our native linguistic abilities than English.

It is a fact that Filipinos who know Spanish well express themselves "Spanish-ly," whereas Filipinos who know English well in its American form do not in general express themselves "American-ly." The Filipino mentality and psychology are too far removed from the American for a language developed for the latter (we are taught American English, which is different from British English) to be an effective medium of expression of the Filipino. Whatever the region and the language of a Filipino, he can more easily adjust to Pilipino than to English.

We have, of course, Filipinos who are at home in English. They know English better than the average American, have a wider vocabulary and wield it more accurately. They are the more vocal portion of the population and exert an influence in intellectual circles out of all proportion to their numbers. They commonly use English among themselves precisely because they do know the language well. This is not a reproach to them, it is all to their credit that they should know a foreign language so well. (It is a reproach, however, when some are unable to express themselves reasonably well in our own language). But it would be absurd to require the immense majority of Filipinos, who cannot acquire the same familiarity with English, to adjust themselves to the convenience of a small minority. It should be the other way around.

(To be concluded)

SKIN-DEEP

by GEMMA CRUZ ARANETA



By any other name

● DURING THE pre-Hispanic times, it seemed easy enough to name children. They were usually named after the circumstances surrounding their birth — *Ulan* if it had been raining or *Bukang-liwayway* if one were born at dawn. When the Spaniards decided to Christianize and Hispanize our names, things became a bit more complicated. For instance, in Davao, I met a girl whom everyone called *Nena*. To my surprise, she was really called *Nina* and could not figure out why non-Davaoeñas like me insisted on spelling her name as it was pronounced there, *Nena*. She should be glad she is not called *Eulalia* or *Pretexta*, both saintly but terribly unevocative.

The Americans came and with them names of movie idols and American heroes and of course names like *Boy* and *Girlie*, so odiously redundant and dreadfully obvious.

But why be so concerned about names? Shakespeare wisely said, "What's in a name? A rose by any other name would smell as sweet." It is really more sensible to consider the character and merits of a person rather than just his name. However, we cannot help but continue to be wildly concerned and give great importance to names and name-giving.

President Sukarno relates in his latest autobiography that he was originally called *Kusno*. But this name seemed to be unsuitable as he was always so miserably sick as a child. His father decided to change his name to *Karna* or *Karno*, the legendary hero of the Mahabharata, fighter for his country and devoted patriot. To give more potency and puissance to the name, *Su*, which means best or good in Indonesia, was prefixed to *Karno*. It may all sound a trifle superstitious but Sukarno's destiny certainly changed after all that.

What is most amusing are people who are touchy about names. In college, I remember having met an affable young man who insisted on being called by his initials or his innocuous nickname, *Jun*. Later I found out he was named after a Greek orator, and an obscure one at that.

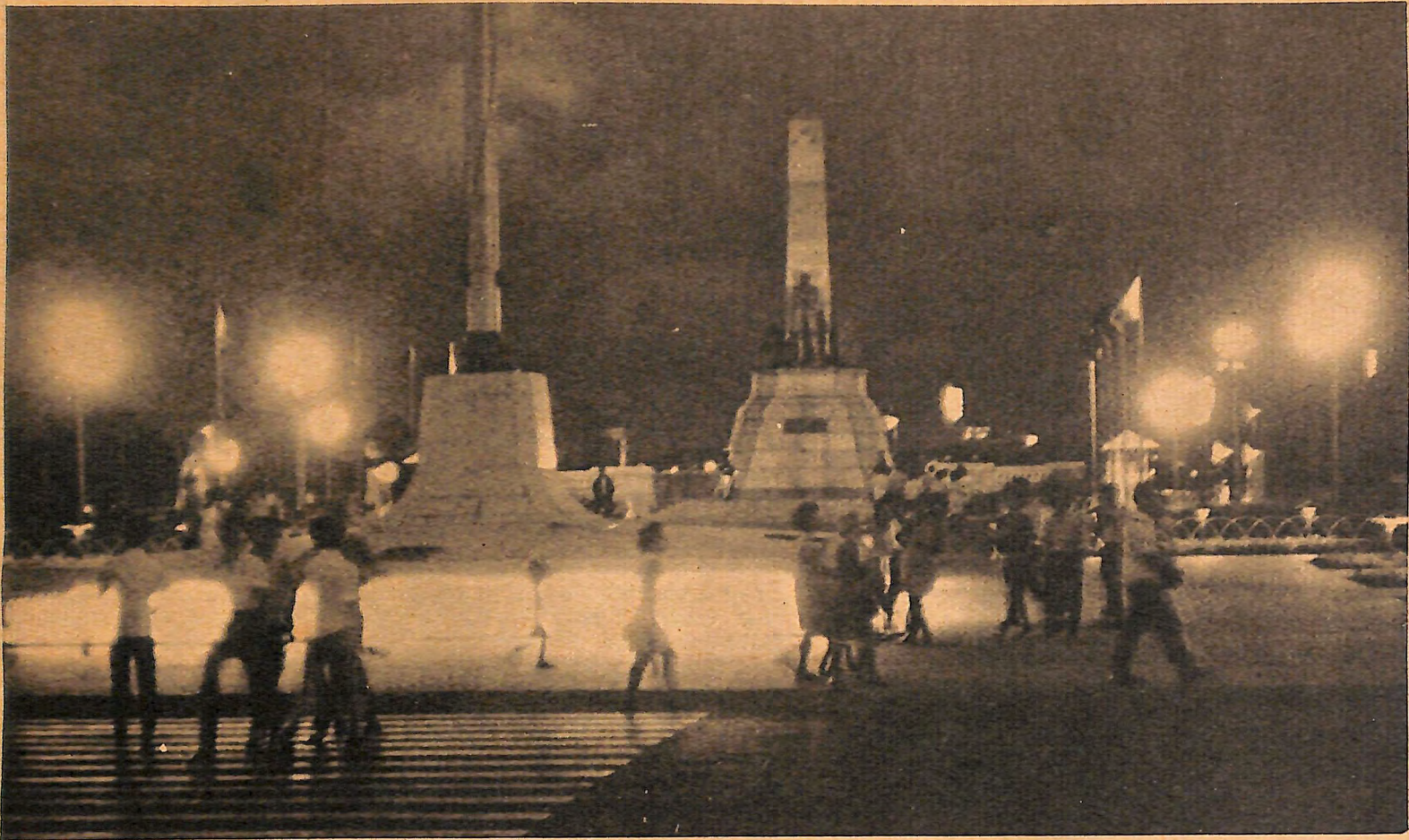
I have an aunt who, in an outburst of motherly affection and pride, nicknamed her daughter *Lovely*. No one thought much about it until a society columnist wrote that mothers who named their daughters "Princess" or "Lovely" were inordinately optimistic for the girls might fail to live up to their beautiful names. Naturally, this allusion made my aunt fly into a rage. She spent no less than a day drafting caustic letters and sent the most scathing ones to the unsuspecting writer. She accused her of not being able to live up to her own name for she was christened Virginia and had married and raised a brood of children.

Another aunt, on the other side of the family, named her youngest daughter *Caresse*, the heroine of a French novel she had read during her pregnancy. To her dismay, a nail polish with exactly the same name was introduced in the market. No, she had sense enough not to sue the manufacturer but her daughter had to use her less romantic second name *Concepcion*, which she again had to change because she studies in Switzerland and the people there could not understand why she was named after a biological event.

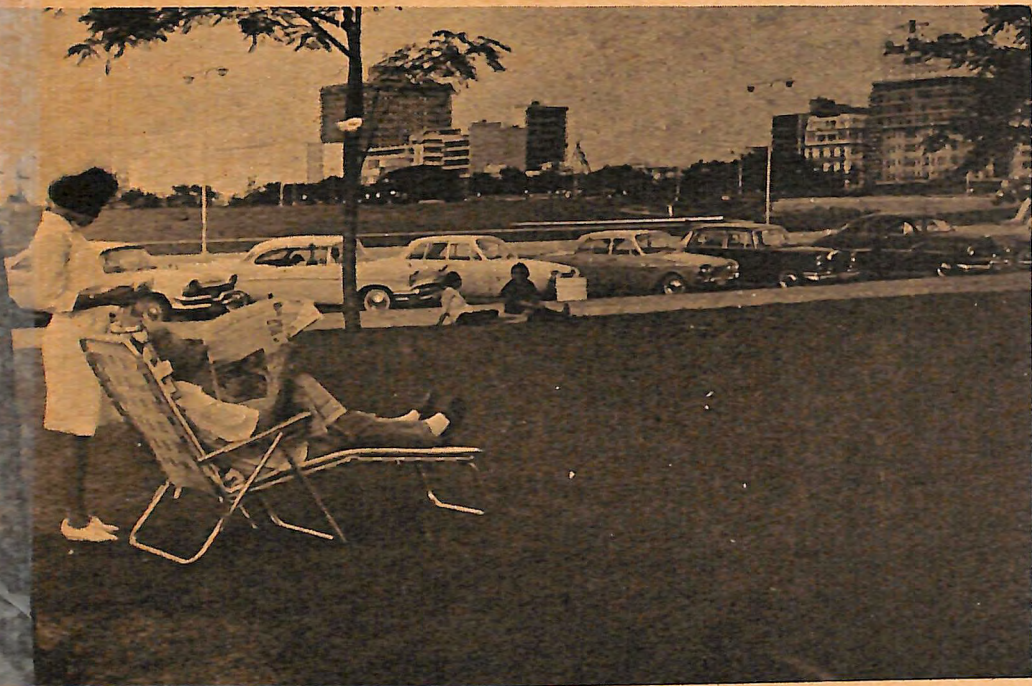
I was given my name with no little trouble. It is one of my mother's favorite stories. She and my uncle, her elder brother, were involved in some sibling battle about whose child was to be named *Gemma*, the name of an older sister who had died in infancy. Luckily for my mother, I was born first and besides, my uncle's child turned out to be a boy. But how I hated the name because none of my school teachers could pronounce it nor figure out what it meant or where I got the name. I planned to change it as soon as I would be able to. I had many secret names which I scrawled in the inner pages of my textbooks until one day it dawned on me that they were all so insipid compared to being called a Jewel (which is what *Gemma* means) and named after one of the first modern saints, Gemma Galgani, an Italian factory girl.—#

PROMENADE

Below: Night life at the Luneta. Middle: Convalescing patient takes in sea breeze. Bottom: Nuns pose for souvenir photo.



A NEW LUNETETA BECKONS



• AN AURA of charm and cleanliness; tropical fish and multi-colored fountains; children gamboling and band music on Sundays — these one finds today at the new Luneta, and people are again being drawn to it as they were in the old days when it was still called Bagumbayan. On any Sunday, a likely promenader might be a convalescing patient and his nurse; a priest with his Bible; a young couple on an inexpensive date; or a group of nuns. Thanks to a development committee headed by Teodoro F. Valencia, the new Luneta has become a national park Manilans can be proud of. Some of its new features include properly maintained rest rooms, ice cream and soft drink kiosks, a children's playground, trash cans at strategic places, and a police patrol car to chase unauthorized vendors away.—#

Aug. 31, 1966

CONCLUSION

LANGUAGE: A PEOPLE'S SOUL

by MANUEL L. QUEZON, Jr.

Progress is closely linked to development of Pilipino

● LET IT be borne in mind that even those at home in English are not usually the products of an American environment: they belong to the Filipino environment like everyone else and thus would not require a change in mentality — unless a colonial mentality be involved — to express themselves better in the national language, it is just a matter of expanding their Pilipino vocabulary and *kaunting tiyaga*. Surely it is not too much to ask. It is high time that Pilipino was given its proper place in literary, intellectual, and technical circles.

But has it, can it have, a proper place in such circles? Many would answer in the negative. They charge Pilipino with poverty. If they are referring to non-technical fields, their accusation is excusable only on the ground of inculpable ignorance. Let them open the *Diccionario Tagalog-Hispano* por Pedro Serrano Laktaw published in 1914.

The volume I have, which is Tagalog-Spanish without a Spanish pot, has 1392 pages of pure vocabulary, apart from the introduction. It is enough to make the average Tagalog educated in English feel that it is presumption for him to speak Tagalog or claim to know it. The wealth of synonyms and the precision of the meanings of words, the richness of their connotations, is positively staggering. For literary purposes, I doubt if more could be desired. There are probably more words than a writer could need or use in a lifetime.

Scientific Terms

Of course, there are those who, with an air of irrefutable wisdom will ask: "How do you say 'automobile,' 'telegram,' 'hydraulic,' or 'atomic' in Tagalog?" (These people will seldom use the word Pilipino.) Well, how do you say them in English? As a matter of fact, you don't, at least not in the sense in which these people demand that we say them in Pilipino or else admit that Pilipino is a hopeless thing.

Scientific terms are, or have been in the past, commonly produced by taking Greek and Latin words, sticking them together, usually with some degree of mutilation, and tacking on an ending in keeping with whatever language is involved.

The scientific term, originally thought up in accordance with the language of the country in which it is invented, is taken over by other languages, modified or not as the case may be. Anyone who does not already know and is interested in learning the origins of the words I cited as examples can look them up in a dictionary. He will see that not one can be called native English.

As to philosophical terms, it should be noted that philosophical terminology develops as philosophy itself develops,

terms are coined or given a new meaning as the need arises.

English has become a rich language through unashamed borrowing from other languages and was correspondingly poorer before those borrowings, which have become permanent acquisitions. I am not insinuating that our language is an impoverished one. I recall that when I studied high school German (which I never learned), I found words which I could not translate accurately into English and had to translate in my notebook by using Tagalog terms or phrases.

I am merely pointing out that the adoption of foreign words is perfectly natural development of any language and the outstanding flexibility of our language makes it possible to a degree and in a manner impossible in the foreign languages that Filipinos learn.

We have a national language beautiful in the extreme, rich in vocabulary except for some technical terms, we have an Institute of National Language, and a population quick at learning Pilipino if they do not already know it. What do we lack? Basically, a proper appreciation of the language.

Many Tagalogs, whose native language is the basis of Pilipino, treat the national language like a poor relation or even a skeleton in the closet. The non-Tagalogs sometimes treat Pilipino as though it were a strange import, instead of something which is just as much their own, national language that it is, as it is the Tagalogs'.

Such attitudes on the part of Filipinos, whatever linguistic group they may be, coupled as they are with a preference for English as opposed to the national language, is a clear indication of a colonial mentality. It is a continuation of the mentality which caused native peoples to cooperate with foreign conquerors against their own kind and made the maxim of *divide and rule* a success.

On the part of the government, the lack of appreciation of Pilipino is shown by the budget starvation of the Institute of National Language. The much-criticized Institute, ridiculed and caricatured as it is, is expected to accomplish its mission on an appropriation ridiculously small for its needs. The lack of appreciation is shown by the use of Pilipino by our officials. When they use it in public addresses, they use it more for *palabas* than as the proper means of communication.

Those who write and, in general, those who belong to intellectual circles would be doing a great service to the people if they were to start using Pilipino, even at the cost of some effort. Unless they believe in establishing a kind of intellectual foreign-oriented elite from which the generality of the population are to be excluded, they must logically use Pi-

lipino more and more both to reach those who already know it well and to help spread it among those who do not.

They may have some difficulty in expressing in Pilipino what they can easily reel off in English. What they turn out may not meet the highest standards of purism — whatever those standards may be. Those disadvantages should, in my opinion be outweighed by the possibility of reaching people they have never reached before. They would be saving Pilipino readers from dependence on translations of foreign works. They would be helping to integrate large segments of the population into true cultural and intellectual life of the country. There is, also, the consideration that they would be molding the language as a common vehicle of thought and action at all levels, and that is where our writers and other intellectuals would stand, if they were to use Pilipino more.

Language Barrier

We cannot go on being two or more nations linguistically without damaging or paralyzing any higher cultural development of the nation as a whole. The highly educated circles may well develop more and more culturally, but the rest of the population will be left out, because of a language barrier. What T. S. Eliot calls the culture-making minorities would not be exercising their functions in relation to the rest of the people because the medium of communication — a language in which both would be articulated — would be missing or at any rate severely limited. The spectacle of the majority of the population picking up bits and pieces of culture — or *unculture*, such as Beatlemania, etc. — would continue at an accelerated pace and the present danger of our Filipino culture flying apart altogether would be immeasurably increased. A split culture which I believe is actually in its initial stages, would almost inevitably be the result.

That a limited group should develop a high culture which would be inaccessible to the immense majority of the population, not because of any inborn incapacity of individuals but because of a language barrier, should be an intolerable prospect for a democracy. The development of Pilipino as a true medium of the communication of thought is, after all and in the last analysis, linked with the possibility of developing a genuine democracy in which one moves up or down politically, financially, and even culturally not because of artificial barriers but because of ability and qualifications.

If we want all Filipinos to be able to participate in the life of the country at all levels, we had better support Pilipino to the full.—#



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CONSENSUS OF ONE

by CARMEN GUERRERO NAKPIL



A restoration

● I HAVE NOT been so proud of being a Roman Catholic as I have been recently. It has nothing to do with who has won or not won the elections. That is a question that one can happily, in fact, thumb one's nose at from Peter's Rock.

I refer to having the Church rescued from the tight-lipped, beady-eyed Pharisees on the tv political programs and the agonizingly vulnerable positions some Catholics took, and having her restored to us all in her glory. A little less than a decade ago I feared it would not be possible to continue to be both a Catholic and a Filipino. A choice between the two seemed almost inevitable. A section of the American Catholic press had taken a stand against nationalism; the local clergymen and nuns were teaching little children that neutralists would burn in hell; a Catholic bishop resigned his diocese rather than affix his signature to a pastoral letter condemning the Noli-Fili bill: the novels of Rizal, he maintained, were not heretical and should be read by the Filipino youth. I had hallucinations of myself standing in sackcloth and ashes like Henry at Canossa waiting to be shriven from papal excommunication for writing in support of Senator Recto.

But today the darkness has lightened. Pope Paul has been to the United Nations to speak of generosity and of reaching out to the 850 millions in Indonesia and China and to urge "a fruitful formula" of coexistence (that dread unmentionable in the Philippines!). The Vatican Council has given the final reenforcement to the doctrine of religious liberty, cautioning Catholics against propagating their faith at the expense of the rights of others. And our own bishops, after an unfortunate fumble by one of them, gently turned the other cheek at the embattled *Iglesia Ni Kristo* with its solid phalanx of vote and declared that the Catholic had no political candidates of its own, indeed, and that Filipino Catholics should vote only according to their individual consciences.

It was an old truism, proved decisively for the first time in the 13th century by the French scholars and jurists of the great Christian universities who broke through with the concept of the state as a natural and autonomous entity, with supreme authority resting with the citizens, not the faithful. It was appalling to have that ancient doctrinal revolution still considered revolutionary in mid-20th century Philippines. But there it was — the Dark Ages for a few terrible days.

But soon the dialogue of reason and faith was restored and the Church no longer loomed in monolithic bigotry, thanks to the bishops' statement. It was possible once more to think of Innocent XIII who saw clearly the need for living with Protestantism, of Leo XIII and his encyclicals on tolerance and "social Catholicism" and of Pope John who, for the first time in seven centuries, had dared take the name of the apostle of love.

Here again was the Church of gentleness, wisdom, humanity, perception and, above all, courage, the Church in which Christ who supped with publicans and sinners and gave life to the daughter of the alien centurion and took the good thief with him to paradise would have felt at home. It's great to have it back.—#

From Elpidio Quirino, the clarity of mind and the risks of alienation from the masses.

From Ramon Magsaysay, the insight that a popular leader, precisely because he could get away with anything, must have a sincere concern for and a high sense of responsibility toward the common folk.

From Carlos P. Garcia, the exemplary tolerance of opposition and dissent, and the dangers of passivity toward events and problems.

And from Diosdado Macapagal, the hitherto concealed dynamism and the fact that the *buck stops in that office*. President Macapagal showed what the office *could* be in the hands of a determined innovator, but he also showed, by failure, the importance of persuasion — the consent of the governed.

The Marcos Style

Needless to say, learning is not imitation, and Marcos can no more be another Magsaysay than he can be another Quezon. He has displayed in the campaign his own style of operating: secretive and prone to keep to himself the general outlines of the campaign, entrusting details to aides and political lieutenants. And he judges aides by results.

As the sixth President, Marcos will necessarily be somewhat severed from the wider constituency — if he expects to get anything done. His number one problem will be delegation of authority, but not of responsibility: that he has to assume entirely.

On the other hand, Marcos had gathered for his campaign enclaves of brilliant "brain-trusts" who, as special assistants, could be valuable to him in the

daily management of national affairs, but most important, in mapping out the long-range objectives of the presidency.

But all this will depend on the "spell" that President Marcos is able to cast on his subalterns in particular and the Filipino people in general. The *tone* of the presidency is fundamentally important, for it is soon reflected down the line.

One thing about the New Man in Malacañang: he never forgets the assignments he farms out. This is an invaluable presidential asset, since much of the success of leadership depends on the *follow through*. Great purposes and noble projects have fizzled out simply because many a President, believing too much in the prodding power of his nod and signature, assumed that his ideas were self-implementing. No. At all times, the will of the President must be a presence in the minds of the bureaucracy — and the people....

Hamlet complained that the times were out of joint, that he had "to set it right."

This is the ultimate sense of Ferdinand E. Marcos's campaign appeal, except that he was not complaining, eager as he was for the challenge. No other President has had to face and solve so much as the incoming overseer at Malacañang.

Every past President rode to power on the rising aspirations of the Filipino people, who were more often than not disappointed. There is a limit to disappointed hopes. Perhaps, with President-elect Marcos, that limit has been reached.

But Marcos has always played against great odds. Is he *fated* as well to triumph in the final ordeal that is the presidency? A republic in crisis — waits.—#

November 17, 1965

We violate the democratic spirit by withholding from the unlettered citizen the right of suffrage

by MANUEL L. QUEZON, Jr.



LET ILLITERATES

● TALK OF CONSTITUTIONAL amendments has been in the air for years now, so much so that it is fair to conclude that those who think about the subject at all are agreed, by and large, on the desirability of Constitutional change. Unfortunately, much of the discussion has centered on issues like whether or not the President should have a six-year term with no reelection. Little thought, if any, has been given to basic Constitutional change.

We have tended to regard — or profess to regard — the Constitution as something sacrosanct. We have surrounded the Constitution with an aura of holiness. We look on it more with superstitious awe than respect. I believe this is understandable rather than justifiable. That a charter drawn up after careful study by a Constitutional Assembly composed of true luminaries like the late Claro Recto, at a time when the country was mercifully free of today's political exacerbation, when hopes were high, principles solid, and consciences clear, and the awareness of responsibility to future generations of Filipinos lay heavy and inescapable on the minds of its writers — could all these fail to invest the Constitution with the character of unassailability? It was to be approached with downcast eyes, rather than a clear gaze. Under the circumstances, there is little cause for wonder that minor modifications should be considered debatable, but basic questioning and basic revision are tantamount to sacrilege.

What The Constitution Is

It is ironic that one of the very few to suggest a basic change was precisely Claro Recto, who is said to have favored a Parliamentary instead of the presidential system.

I shall presume to pose the following question to the reader — what is the Constitution? It is often possible to know what a thing is by considering what it is meant to do. What is the purpose of the Constitution? I shall leave the reader to think up his answers while I give my own.

The Constitution is a series of affirmations, principles, and rules intended to define, safeguard, and further the rights and the interests of the Filipino people. It lays down the form of government and defines the limits within which that government must function so as to increase the welfare of the people. It is then what we might call a service document — it is a document, a program, a scheme whose sole purpose and justification is the progressive attainment of the common good — the good of ALL, not just the greatest good of the greatest number. The desirability of the present form of the Constitution must be measured and measured solely by the attainment of its purpose. The Constitution is good to the extent, and only to the extent, that it achieves its objective. To the extent that it fails, to the extent it is bad and must be changed.

Let us be sufficiently open-minded to say that if the Constitution fails entirely, it should be changed entirely. Let us be detained by no fear except that of falling short of the common good. Once we have the attitude that the whole Constitution can be critically scrutinized, we shall have fewer scruples about reconsidering individual provisions of the Constitution.

The Test Of Literacy

I am concerned with one in particular. The preamble states that the government shall be "a regime of justice, liberty, and DEMOCRACY." And, five articles later, the Constitution enshrines an undemocratic principle. Article V — Suffrage. Section 1 reads: "Suffrage may be exercised by male citizens of the Philippines not otherwise disqualified by law, who are 21 years of age or over and ARE ABLE TO READ AND WRITE. . . etc." The Constitution itself provided for the women of the land to decide whether or not they should vote, with obvious results. It also determined the age of 21 as the minimum voting age, probably since that is when one legally comes of age. Whether or not that is the age at which most peo-

ple have attained the sense of responsibility presumed necessary for the exercise of the vote is not my concern at this point. But I am deeply concerned that the ability to read and write should be consecrated as a test of a citizen's qualification to vote. I maintain it is not.

The reasons for the adoption of this criterion can probably be ascertained by means of a historical study of the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention. It is possible that the Fathers found overwhelming precedent in other Constitutions. The norm may have stemmed from the established practice of the pre-Commonwealth governments. Be that as it may, the literary qualification seems to equate ability to read and write with the capacity to form an intelligent political judgment. This seems to me an obvious fallacy. If the ability to form an intelligent political judgment (no doubt an ideal situation) is the criterion for voting, I wonder how many voters we would have. Not very many, I am afraid.

Government By Computer?

First of all, what is meant by an intelligent political judgment? To descend to the absurd, should not an intelligence test sift the wheat from the chaff? It seems much more logical to deny the vote to those who, while not abnormal, are still substantially below average. Or, if intelligent political judgment is to be equated with sound political judgment, who is to say in what sound political judgment consists in a concrete instance?

With the political picture normally blurred, with so many factors involved,

with so many shades of gray rather than pure black and white, who can affirm without at least unconscious presumption, that he has not overlooked some important factors or given disproportionate importance to some consideration, thus distorting his judgment? Is not the logical alternative a government by computer? Scientism of the rankest sort, and the very antithesis of democracy, the system on which I believe we are all agreed. Certainly the Constitution is unequivocal in its preamble.

A Broader View

Again, when political judgment is mentioned, it is vital to consider: "political judgment on what?" Personalities? Party platforms? Broad issues? Fine distinctions? Concrete details understandable only to experts, who will then draw varying and even opposing conclusions? Where do we draw the line? People with an academic mind may be inclined to require a very high capability in this respect. And yet Plato, the academician par excellence (the very word academy derives from his school) could do nothing with concrete politics. Surely a much broader view must be taken. Let him who can make no mistake cast the first stone.

If we presume that literacy indicates a certain degree of education adequate for the citizen to form a sensible opinion in the very widest extension of the phrase, still the opposite proposition is unwarranted: that an illiterate is unable to form a sensible opinion. The Incas developed an advanced civilization and governed an immense and prosperous empire — not one could read or write. And if a certain degree of

A retiring scholar, the son of the late great President analyzes in this incisive piece, the first article he has ever written for publication, a facet of the existing political system that in his opinion renders the Constitution less than flawless. Manuel Quezon, Jr. has consented to write similar thought-provoking articles exclusively for the Weekly GRAPHIC.—Ed.



VOTE

education is a prerequisite in a simple voter, surely a far higher level of education is needed in one who is to govern; yet our Constitution makes no such demand, neither do any laws passed within the framework of the Constitution. In fact, such laws would probably be tantamount to class legislation.

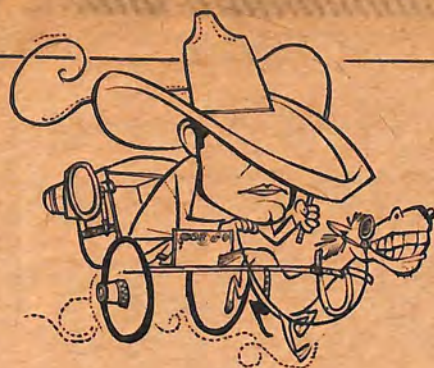
Misinformation As Well

The last argument I can think of to justify the literacy requirement (doubtless there are others) is that literacy enables the citizen to read the mass media of information and acquire knowledge as a basis for his judgment. But mass media can be excellent sources of misinformation as well as information, and therefore of misjudgment as well as sound judgment. The citizen has eyes to see with as well as read and ears to hear. The general public is unaware that much of the influence of the press on the non-urban areas (the bulk of the nation) is due to what people hear about what is in the newspapers and magazines, rather than to what they read themselves. The tremendous influence of the spoken word is attested by the exhausting campaigning of all candidates and on the great hopes pinned by one political group on the barrio transistors. As to those who read, who is to say that they exercise their ability sensibly when so much of that reading is concentrated on comics and literature of similar ilk?

Democracy Of The Mind

Some intellectuals may sigh for an aristocracy of the mind. I believe the ideal is a democracy of the mind, a nation universally educated to the point of being able to weigh issues and personalities at least broadly, and vote accordingly. But unless and until such a time has arrived, we are drawing an arbitrary line between literates and illiterates, placing the latter in the category of the child, the insane, and the alien. We are depriving a vast number of fellow citizens of the right to a say in the vital choice of officials. We are mutilating democracy.—#

November 17, 1965



KUWENTONG KUTSERO

by NARCISO PIMENTEL JR.

Travails of a voter

● I HAVE JUST received a letter signed by one who calls himself "Worried & Distraught." I was going to throw it into the waste-paper basket, but then I thought that perhaps you who usually gloss over this column might wish to compare notes on the past elections with "Worried & Distraught." The letter reads:

Now I must go to confession. You see, I did not vote on election day, and I remember reading in some pastoral or other before elections that it is a sin not to vote. But then, what could I do? This is what happened.

Bright and early Tuesday morning I dressed up, had my breakfast and went out to vote in my precinct. I wanted to be early in order to avoid the rush. As I was walking down the street, my neighbor Mang Kario waved to me from the window of his house asking (as is our nosey custom) where I was going. I told him I was going to vote. Immediately he told me to wait as he was coming down. So I did, and when he arrived:

"You're going to vote this early?"

"Yes. I want to avoid the rush."

"You're crazy. Nobody votes this early. You've got to wait until the late afternoon, or else you'll destroy the prices."

"Prices? What prices?"

"The best price you can get at this time is 50 centavos per. If you wait till the afternoon, we can get as much as 3 pesos per."

At this point, another neighbor, Mang Bindoy, approached us.

"What are you two arguing about?" he asked.

"This guy wants to go and vote already. Can you imagine!"

"Ah, you have plenty of time," Mang Bindoy said, putting an arm around my shoulders. And he continued: "Look, fellows, I have a bottle of rare and well-aged *lambanog* stashed away in the house. How about coming over, you two, and sharing it with me."

Without waiting for me to say "yes," both Mang Bindoy and Mang Kario practically dragged me to the former's house.

After a convivial hour full of song, I insisted on leaving my neighbors and going to do my duty as a citizen. On reaching the corner, two men came rushing toward me from the direction of my precinct. I stopped one.

"What's up?"

"Congressman Binong is there with his bodyguards."

"So what?"

"But his rival from the other town is there too with his bodyguards."

"And so?"

"And they're beginning to exchange hot words. So we left running before they begin exchanging hot lead. You'd better run too."

Now, I consider myself brave, but not exactly a hero. So I said to myself: maybe in an hour or so there will be no more bodyguards in the precinct either because they're all dead or because they've all run away. I decided to go back home and wait.

As I was turning into my street, an open truck full of people standing passed by and

came to a stop with a screech of tires. Someone yelled, "Ayan pa ang isa!" I looked at him and recognized my bosom pal, Tino.

"We're all going to vote. Come with us."

I said: "Good" and jauntily jumped onto the open truck as it lurched forward. Tino is an engaging conversationalist. I was listening to him attentively and laughing at his stories and jokes, when suddenly I realized that the truck had left the town where my precinct was and we were entering the next town.

"Tino, I thought you said we were going to vote. My precinct is in the other town."

"Confidentially, we're going on a picnic. The owner of this truck is the rival of Cong. Binong and all these people here are sympathizers of Binong. So that they won't go and vote for him, we're giving them a whole day picnic plus a few pesos afterwards."

"But I don't want to go to a picnic."

"It's near lunch-time anyway. Stick around for a while and after you've eaten *litson* and *caldereta* you can leave."

It was hard to say "no" to Tino, my bosom pal. I decided to stick around for the *litson*, but I vowed that, few pesos or not, I was going to leave immediately after lunch.

I kept my word two hours after lunch. But I found I couldn't get any bus, jeepney or *carretela*. They had all been commandeered by candidates, leaders or just plain joy-riders. So I had to walk the 15 kms. home. When I got to my town it was already getting dark. A little more than 100 meters from my precinct

I was attracted by a group of people to whom somebody was distributing something. Thinking they were sample ballots and needing one, I approached the group just in time to receive from the "distributor" a crisp ten peso bill. Astonished, I murmured my thanks and when he finished distributing the money the "distributor" ordered in a commanding tone: "Okay. You're fixed. Now go home."

I protested: "But, sir, I want to go and vote. It's late already. I have to hurry."

"What!", roared the "distributor." "You get my money and still you want to vote for that sonuvagun. Now, go on home or I'll —."

To make a long story short, by the time I was able to slip through past the gun-wielding distributor of money, it was two minutes before seven and the precinct was about to close. Jaded and tired, but triumphant, I asked the inspector for a ballot. The inspector looked through his list of voters, and then he threw me a look as if I had committed or was about to commit a crime.

"Do you want to vote twice, wise guy? Our records show you have already voted." I argued furiously, but he cut me short with:

"Do you want me to call the police?"

So I went home without voting, and now my conscience is bothering me. I consulted J. V. Cruz who is an expert in things religious and he told me he cannot hear confessions and absolve sins; he can only interpret pastorals. So I'm appealing to you. What shall I do?—(Sgd.) WORRIED & DISTRAUGHT.—#

The Philippines and Vietnam:

AN UNCANNY PA

US gunboat diplomacy, successfully employed to suppress a popular revolt in the Philippines, is again in evidence

● ANY ANALYSIS of American foreign policy, to be rational, must be based not on the pledged word, but on the accomplished deed. Actually, American techniques may have changed since the years of "manifest destiny," but the ends remain the same — in 1898 or in 1965 — the protection and promotion of American vested interests which come under the category of safeguarding America's security — whether it is in the jungles of the Congo or in the side-streets of Santo Domingo or in the swamps of Vietnam.

There is an uncanny parallel between the Philippines in 1898 and Vietnam from 1954 to date, insofar as US official thinking matched military operations. In both of these countries, Americans came in — to use a diplomatic euphemism — to fill the vacuum left, in our case, by a bankrupt and decadent Spanish colonialism, and in Vietnam's case, by a defeated and equally decadent French colonialism. The wars Americans subsequently fought in these two countries were revolutionary wars. In each case, American intervention meant the denial of the fruits of hard-won popular revolutions.

A Contingent Necessity

It may be claimed that the United States was at war with Spain and that the Philippines was a war booty. This is idle sophistry. The fact remains that General Aguinaldo and his revolutionaries were in effective control in the country, when Spain sold us at two dollars a head to America. And in Vietnam, the US stepped in after Dien Bien Phu fell. France kept up the fight only because of massive US aid, but when this failed, America came in and the revolutionary war, as Bernard Fall writes in *The Two Vietnams*, was transformed by American propaganda into an anti-communist "crusade."

Let us go back to 1898, the dawn of America's "manifest destiny," when America, under McKinley, began active intervention in the affairs of Asia by the brazen force of gunboat diplomacy.

The American imperialists at the time maintained that the Philippine action was a "contingent necessity," that is to say, unless America took the Philippines, somebody else would, either the British or the Germans, or the Japanese.

It was also a "contingent necessity" that compelled America to shore up French imperialism in Vietnam. "The loss of Indo-China," General Eisenhower said on April 7, 1954, "will cause the fall of Southeast Asia like a set of dominoes." A month later Dien Bien Phu fell. And America had to take over, or the Chinese would, so we have been assured.

In both campaigns US propaganda played an insidious role. The Americans

labeled the Filipino revolutionaries "insurgents" to justify their ruthless suppression by superior force. The fierce resistance of the Vietcong "terrorists" has caused the Pentagon to employ every device in its war laboratory, short of nuclear weapons.

The story of the Philippine campaign is dramatically told by Leon Wolff in *Little Brown Brother*.

"All gugs look alike to me," the American GIs of 1898 said, and they sang:

Damn, damn, damn the Filipino
Pockmarked Khadiak ladrone!
Underneath the starry flag
Civilize him with a Krag
and return us to our own beloved
home . . . (p. 250)

To the Americans at home, stirred to a feverish pitch by a wave of chauvinism that swept the country following Dewey's "glorious" victory in Manila Bay, the Filipino revolutionaries consisted of little more than "a few hundred cannibals and lardrons."

The *New York Times* described Aguinaldo and his men in these words:

"... these babes of the jungle from Aguinaldo down . . . are veritable children. They show the weaknesses and the vices of the resourceless and unmoral human infant. Aguinaldo is a popinjay, a wicked liar, and a perfectly incapable leader. His men are dupes, a foolish, incredulous mob." (p. 228)

So it was all right to trick him, as Dewey did, and for this treachery we, a grateful people, honored him by naming our finest boulevard after him, and casting Aguinaldo into oblivion.

The war was an uneven one. The Americans had all the advantages of trained manpower, arms, logistics sup-

port, unlimited resources. But the Filipinos more than made up for their lack of the basics of war with their guts and cunning.

In 1900 a War Department official in Washington reported that to date 14,643 Filipinos had been killed and 3,297 wounded. The ratio of nearly five to one was strange as it reversed the figures of the Civil War and the then current Boer War. General MacArthur (father of Douglas) explained it this way: "Our soldiers are trained in what we call 'fire discipline'; that is, target practice. In other words, they know how to shoot." (p. 306)

Uneven Odds

This was how the American freedom fighters of that day did it (all quoted from *Little Brown Brother*):

"As the Filipino survivors fled with their wounded, the Kansans pursued them for two miles. It was an old picture: white men efficiently pumping bullets into the backs of little brown men floundering through the underbrush in search of cover . . ." (p. 222)

"(General Pio) del Pilar had never expected to retreat, nor had his men, and suddenly they were trapped. Their natural impulse was to swim

back across the river. It was like shooting fish in a barrel. The volunteers, most of whom had been marksmen since boyhood, thronged to the west bank of the river and leisurely selected their targets. By 10 o'clock the episode was over, the river was pink with Filipino blood . . ." (p. 224)

"... It was really going too far; there was a limit even to America's patience. Since the Filipinos had started it, they, cried the *Washington*

Star, "must be taught obedience and must be forced to observe, even if they cannot comprehend, the practices of civilization." (p. 227)

So with cold efficiency, the GIs of 1898 relentlessly compelled the Filipino guerrillas to observe the practices of civilization:

"... The governor (Otis) conceived his duties as almost exclusively military in character. His attitude was underscored by General Shafter in the *Boston Transcript*, dated January 12, 1900: 'My plan would be to disarm the natives of the Philippine Islands, even if we have to kill half of them to do it. Then I would treat the rest of them with perfect justice.' (p. 299)

x x x

"... Last night one of our boys was found shot and his stomach cut open," wrote Private A. A. Barnes of the 3rd Artillery to his brother in Indiana. "Immediately orders were received from General Wheaton to burn the town and kill every native in sight; which was done . . . I am probably growing hard-hearted, for I am in my glory when I can sight my gun on some dark skin and pull the trigger . . ." (p. 253)

"To the *Fairfield, Maine Journal*, Sergeant Howard McFarlane of the 43rd Infantry wrote: 'On Thursday, March 29, 18 of my company killed 75 nigger bolomen and 10 of the nigger gunners . . . When we find one that is not dead, we have bayonets' (p. 305).

... And in its July 26 issue, the *New York World* carried this story:

"... our soldiers here and there resort to horrible measures with the natives. Captains and lieutenants are



HISTORY REPEATED

Left photo shows American regiment of 1898 taking position on Philippine beach. GIs relive this role

Weekly graphic

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1959?

Let's Reflect a Little



by Manuel Quezon as broadcast over DZWS

ONE of the greatest contributions possible to the stability and progress of any country is the intelligent use of the ballot. There are many important factors that work in favor of the ballot and many that work against it. Among those that work in favor of it are the citizens' active interest in public affairs, a firm grasp of sound political principles and of the country's or the locality's needs, accurate information on the candidates' qualifications, absence of blinding passions and, certainly not the least in importance, the voters' conviction that they are answerable to Almighty God for the way they exercise their vote. With this list we have, by no means, exhausted all the positive factors.

On the other hand there are the negative factors: apathy regarding public affairs, ignorance of the country's or the locality's needs, biased sources of information (which make it well impossible to know the truth about the candidates) and, again by no means the least in importance, failure to see the necessary connection between careful voting and one's duties to God and one's fellow men. Again we have not exhausted the negative factors.

I would like to discuss a very important factor in Philippine affairs which nullifies very important positive factors from the outset. I refer to the excessively personal quality of Philippine politics.

During elections we invariably hear remarks like the following: "I shall vote for Mr. X because he is a friend or relative of myself or my wife, or because he comes from the same locality or linguistic group, or works in the office."

Let us here make two of the many possible observations on these remarks. The first is that the underlying principle in the choice of a candidate is made to consist in his relation to the private individual, to "me." Mr. X will get my vote because he knows "me," because he is related to "me," because he has done "me" a favor, because he is from the same region as "mine." The second consideration is that the really important factors to be taken into account are either outweighed or entirely overlooked, so that the definitive decision stems from the personal factor — "me."

Now, to make the choice of a candidate depend on his relationship to oneself is to invert the whole procedure of choice. Officials are logically elected, not because of any relationship to any particular individual or group. The purpose of electing people to government office is to provide for the common temporal welfare, which includes the peace and security in which families and individual citizens may have the free exercise of their rights and at the same time enjoy the greatest spiritual and temporal prosperity possible in this life through the mutual union and coordination of the work of all. The central consideration, therefore, should not be "What personal ties exist between the candidate and myself?" but "How qualified is he to serve the common welfare?" I refer not to mere legal qualifications... these can be met by almost anyone. I refer to concrete qualities and abilities which give us assurance that the candidate, if elected, not only can, but will serve the public interest. Certainly the mere personal connection of the candidate with myself gives no such guarantee. How logical does this sound: "Mr. X will propose good laws because his grandmother and mine are sisters."

Let us repeat: Government has for its purpose the public welfare, which does not exclude the private welfare, but is far nobler. Therefore those who will exercise the powers of government must be chosen with reference to the public good.

Does this mean that any personal consideration must be completely excluded? No. When there are two or more fully qualified candidates, we are entirely justified in preferring one to the other on the basis of personal relationship. The mistake consists in giving a predominant position to the personal factor. This distorts the whole process of selection. It subordinates the good of all to fortuitous circumstances of friendship or relationship. It gives weight to matters of small importance to the public, while ignoring the purpose of government—the good of all, not only as individuals but as forming a community. It is like considering the good of the human hand or foot as paramount—and the rest of the man—mind and body—solely from a consideration of the hand or foot. Such a view is obviously way off the mark. Just consider the abnormal life procedures to which it would give rise.

Let us not lose our sense of proportion. First things first. The public good is the purpose of government and therefore, in the choice of candidates, the public good must also come first.

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1 cup sugar
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Grated rind of orange or lime (dayap)

Combine $\frac{3}{4}$ cup sugar and $\frac{3}{4}$ cup water; boil together without stirring until light brown syrup is obtained. Pour into tin mold. Combine egg yolks, 1 cup sugar and **LIBERTY**; blend well. Strain. Add finely grated rind. Pour into syrup-lined mold and set mold in pan of boiling water in moderate oven (350°F). Bake until set, or about 30-40 minutes. You may also cook Flan in pan of boiling water on top of stove.



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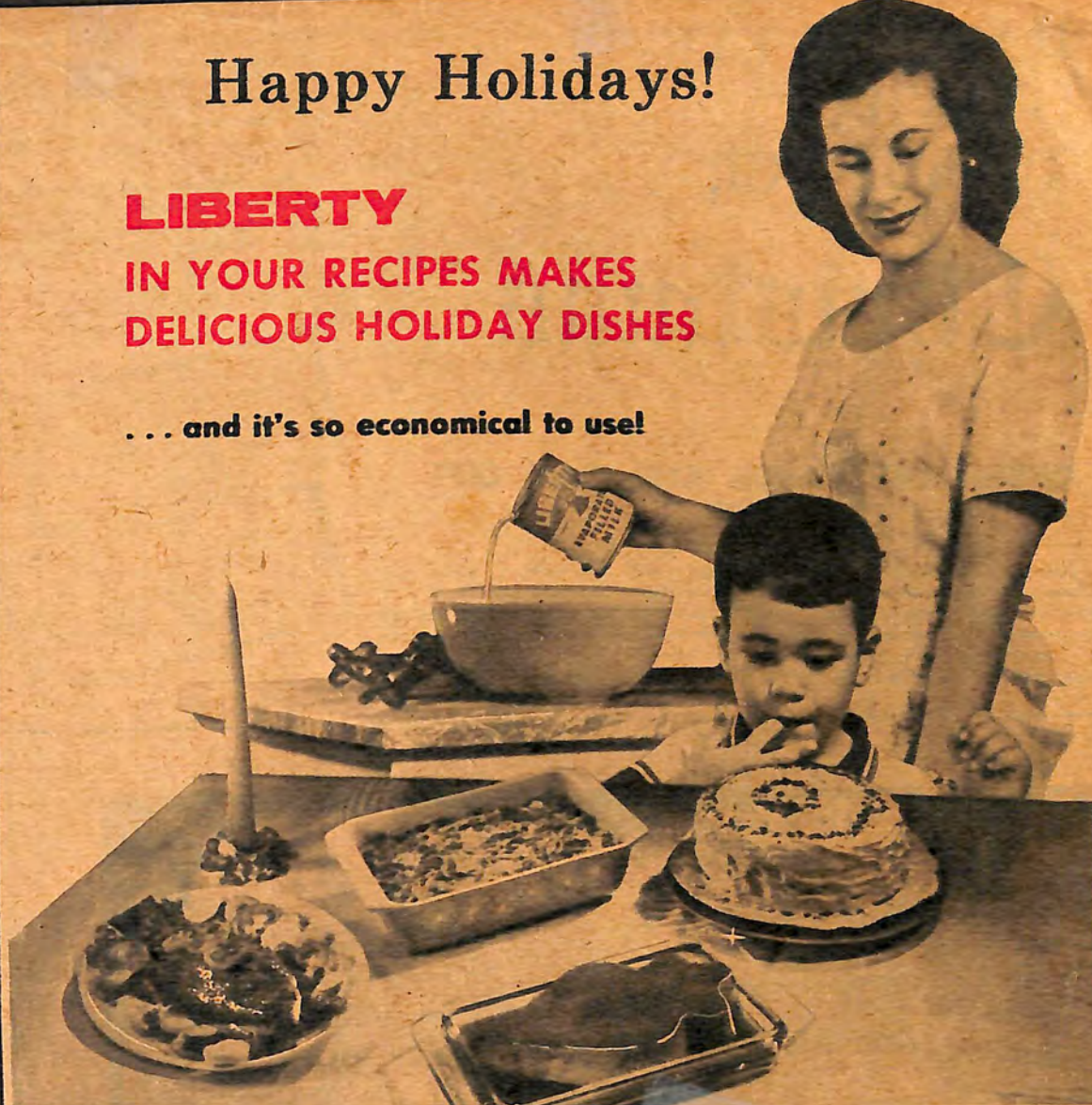


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Happy Holidays!

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HAVE AN EYE
ON WHAT
TO BUY FOR

Christmas

CHRISTMAS CARDS AND GAY GIFT WRAPPINGS

This is a memorable year for Christmas cards because of the volume and variety that are available. The volume is such that it has already been forecast that past production records the world

over will be broken; while the variety is so extensive that you have but to examine the range showing in the stores to be able to find whatever type you want. This year there is special inter-

est in cards designed by local artists and some really delightful examples are available. Quite apart from their popular appeal, they are specially suitable to send to distant friends to show them what our fauna and flora look like.

The religious card continues to grow in popularity, as do cards that reflect the richness of stained glass windows. Christmas cards



built around the Nativity story are plentiful and much in demand. Uniformity in size and shape is a thing of the past insofar as Christmas cards are concerned, for they vary in size these days from delightful card-cameos of visiting-card size to folded affairs which, when opened, approximate the size of a small poster. All appeal in their various ways. Cards in cut-out shapes, too, are more plentiful than formerly.

Cards can be grave, gay, digni-

December 12, 1958

ned or hilarious. You take your pick, keeping in mind the people for whom they are intended. Cards for children fill an important place in all collections. Children are most impressed by color and colour. To cater for these designers and publishers have seen to it that both these considerations are taken into account. Christmas card manufacturers work the year round to bring you greetings with fresh and captivating messages. Just how well they have succeeded is obvious from an examination of stocks now showing at your favourite store.



—AND WRAPPINGS TOO! Gay gift wrappings, too, are



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BRANCHES AND AGENCIES ALL OVER THE PHILIPPINES



by Manuel Quezon
as broadcast over DZWS

Let's
Reflect
a Little

always the case. When elections are approaching, sources of information are deliberately used by candidates and political parties to advance their own cause and damage that of their opponents, often at the expense of truth. This refers of course to space bought in the newspapers and time bought on the air. But, aside from that, at times even an entire newspaper or station is known to be slanted in favor of a candidate or a party. Even our friends may, we must presume unwittingly, give us inaccurate or altogether false reports.

There are remedies for this situation. The basic one is to keep well informed about the relevant acts of political and other public figures, not only during election time, but all the year round. There is less danger of distortion

the picture in a more varied way than ever before. This is as it should be, for a trifling gift, smartly wrapped and bearing unmistakable evidence of the loving care bestowed upon it, is often more welcome than a more costly gift that is wrapped haphazardly and bestowed indifferently. In the first case, the recipient appreciates the thought behind the gift. In the second, the indifference of the packing and presentation suggests lack of sincerity. That is why gift packaging warrants all the loving care you can bestow upon it.

Wrapping papers and Christmas novelties of all kinds are extensive in variety, original in design and attractive in colour. They include paper novelties of many sorts, seals and tags, fanciful coloured crepes, multi-coloured tissues, "concertina" streamers that open out to extend across the room for Christmas ornamentation, collapsible paper Christmas trees that you can stow away after use and bring out again season after season, gleaming balls, glitter ornaments, imitation snow-flakes.



Remember, too, that it is all too easy, if you leave your shopping late, to be unable to get just the type of fancy box in which to enclose a particular gift. When this happens, wrapping papers can again come to your aid, as you can use old boxes that are to be found around the house. You simply cut them down to the size you want then recover them with a fancy paper of your own choosing.

The demand for seals, tags, Scotch tape, wrapping papers, etc., is extraordinary at this time of the year; so buy them early while choice is at its peak.

tion in the sources of information when the passions of an election are not running high.

In using sources of information we should inquire about the general character of the source. A source may be habitually in favor of certain men or certain legal measures. If we know this we can make allowances for certain inaccuracies or for bias in the presentation and evaluation of the information we get. Nor should we think that such inaccuracies or bias are always deliberate. They often creep in unnoticed, despite honest efforts to avoid them. However, the effect is the same — unreliability.

The character and the tendencies of our sources should be even more carefully looked into during elections. This will enable us to form a more balanced judgment on the more extreme utterances for or against candidates or issues. It will also help us to consider factors that may simply be left out in reports about candidates or issues. Let us take a case in point.

Today when a man runs for public office he often emphasizes that he is poor, and poverty is commonly taken as a good sign. Well, it may or it may not be. If a man has remained poor while in public office because he has rejected illegal means of enrichment, certainly he can lay claim to one good quality, though not the only one needed to deserve the vote. However, if before seeking public office, the man was poor because of laziness or incompetence, no one should say that his poverty is a good sign. In the first case his poverty may prove his honesty. In the second it could simply prove his unfitness for public office. Biased sources can easily present fact in a manner that will give rise to an entirely wrong interpretation. The voter therefore must consider how to correct his sources to avoid falling into error.

Information from our friends also requires careful evaluation. Because someone is our friend does not automatically make him a prophet of truth. All too often our friends are also victims of misinformation or emotion. We know our friends and their inclinations. We should make due allowances when appraising any information they give us.

We should try to gather first-hand information. This is sometimes impossible. However, due to the relative ease with which we can reach candidates today, the gathering of first-hand information is generally not as difficult as it seems. We can at least have contact with those close to the candidates, who are therefore capable of giving us a closer view of these candidates. But again, we must make due allowances for the influence of personal circumstances on our information.

A correct appraisal of facts does not so much depend on the sources of information as on the discretion with which we sift the true from the false and place events in their proper perspective. We must develop this discretion — or else our choice of officials will continue to be haphazard.

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OF at least 50 writers and their guests to be seen and heard at the first National Writers' Conference, Pines Hotel, Baguio City, December 26 to 29 this year, I have seen at one time or another 14 of the writers, I think I know five of those, but only two of them well and one too well. And I have heard three of the guest speakers and of these three I appreciate one, have no opinion one way or the other about another and detest the third on principle.

I am no more isolated from Philippine writers as a group than anybody else. For this conference, there are writers inviting writers who do not know what kind of people they are, where they live, how they live or if they live or died yesterday.

And yesterday a person, who thinks I ought to meet other writers, that it would do me good and them no harm, offered to underwrite my attendance at the conference, that is, pay the costs, now decides to underwrite two other writers through me on condition that "they're worth it." I am to decide which two whom I do not know are worth it, and I am not to tell him who they are or tell them who put up the P50 each for them. While other people's Christmas may be improved by this, mine will be more confused. Please just send checks, money orders or telegraphic transfers to Miss Virginia Moreno, Treasurer of the Philippine Center, International P.E.N., 2457 Juan Luna, Tondo, Manila. It is said that Miss Moreno is unconfusable.

All in all, at P100 a writer, P50 from him and P50 from anybody who wants to be a realistic Santa Claus, the conference is about as inclusive as the shrewdness and humor of P.E.N. (Poets, Playwrights, Editors, Essayists and Novelists — people like me fall in the spaces between) can make it. A furtive squint at my own inner processes convinces me that I am going to the conference at my own full expense (cutting down on cigarettes and cheap lotion), because I wouldn't dream of missing the bad any more than the good. I hope some of the speakers choke to death on their own tongues. While awaiting these small but satisfying events, I shall have the pleasure of meeting the young elite in elegant surroundings, and four days in Baguio plus meals and round-trip transportation at P25 a day is a bargain any day in the year — and December in Baguio is so much better than April that People keep it a secret.

The real theme of the conference is "The Freedom of the Writer," and this can only mean eventually the conscious opposition of a writer to anything that hampers or crushes his self-expression and the reaping of the rewards thereof. Pasternak, the

Russian writer, whose government forced him to renounce the Nobel prize because in his novel the political views differed with those of the party in power, may never be mentioned, but Pasternak will be a subject in every head that holds a mind and in every heart that has courage.

The announced theme of the conference is "The Filipino Writer and National Growth." A country cannot grow without writers. Writers cannot grow without freedom. Freedom cannot grow without protection. Who will protect the freedom that protects the writer who protects the country? Inner instincts as well as

Writers' Package

by Yay Marking

physical ears will be listening.

"The Role of the Filipino Writer in National Growth" is the topic offered President Carlos P. Garcia, admittedly as articulate a President as the Philippines has had. It is possible that the topic was chosen to stimulate the speaker's own mind and to invite him to commit himself to a course of action. The younger writers don't have to be told that their country needs them. They know this. Perhaps they would like to be told who else knows it.

In a tight-packed schedule, theme after theme, lecture after lecture, discussion after discussion follow each other in logical order. The only breaks are for meals and sleep.

The only provision for sightseeing, unsponsored, is Sunday morning, officially declared free. The writers will be at a loose end or on their own, to go where they will and get back if they can. They will probably sleep late in pure exhaustion after participation in discussions of "The Tradition of Freedom in Filipino Writing," "The Challenge of Nationalism to Filipino Writing," "The Aims of Popular Publications and their Contribution to National Growth," "The problem of Publishing Creative Work," "The Encouragement of the Arts by the State and Private Institutions," "The Writer and Our Educational System" and "The Literary Form."

Nothing in the program keynotes the conference quite so definitely as the closing speech: "The First Annual Jose Rizal Lecture." No country needs a Pasternak who had a Rizal. Reports on the conference and the papers presented will be published in the magazine *Comment*.

AS far as personality and achievement go, the writers so far committed to attend are as varied and established as in any cross-section of a vital profession. The percentage of hard working, serious, realistic writers is high. Most are better educated and of wider experience than pre-war writers in their own time. Some are traveled. All are sincerely conscious of country and self.



Raul Ingles, editor and columnist, by nature reserved, and industrious Vicente Rivera, Jr., editor, short-story writer and novelist, are the conference's co-ordinators. Conference editors and rapporteurs include scalpel-minded G. Burce Bunao, editor, poet acknowledged one of the finest sonneteers in the Philippines; Adrian Cristobal, noisily and happily involved in fiction and criticism; boisterous, friendly Andres Cristobal Cruz, bilingual poet and short-story writer, who also paints; the studious Neal Cruz, a literary editor; the equally quiet Rony V. Diaz, teacher of creative writing at the State University and a consistent award winner in fiction; chairmanning the aforementioned will be Juan T. Gatabonton, responsible, industrious staff member of the *Sunday Times Magazine*, and the articulate, social-minded Blas F. Ople, a labor specialist, who was one of the late President's bright young men. Cheerful Godofredo M. Roperos — "nobody can down him" — a short story writer and magazine staff man, will act as public information officer.

Discussion leaders include O. D. Corpuz, an erudite man with a Ph. D. from Harvard University, author of "Bureaucracy in the Philippines," secretary of a graduate school and one of the editors of the intellectual magazine *Comment*; Francisco Arcellana, a Rockefeller scholar, short story writer and critic; Leopoldo Yabes, professor of English at the University of the Philippines; the equally sober Jose Luna Castro, associate editor of the *Manila Times*; the gregarious Amador Dagui, poet and fictionist; and I. P. Soliongco, a newspaper columnist with cannonball opinions delivered the same way.

Brilliant Carmen Guerrero Nakpil, foremost columnist among women writers, will be first to stand in discussion. With her will be the amiable, also impatient and blunt, E. Aguilar Cruz, columnist, editor, social historian, art critic, gourmet, raconteur (somebody told me this; wary of him, I eye him from afar); Alejandro Roces, dignified, also stubborn, columnist, story writer, dean of Far Eastern University's Institute of Arts and Sciences, reportedly a cockfight enthusiast; the scholarly Edilberto Tiempo, head of the English department at Silliman University, scholar, critic, married to the poet Edith Tiempo; and Alfredo Gonzalez, the classical essayist.

First to stand in another discussion group will be Father Miguel Bernad, S.J., of the Ateneo where he teaches literature and edits the quarterly. A friendly non-Catholic writer describes Father Bernad as "dogmatic because he can't help it, he's a Jesuit, in spite of that, he's all right." With him will be the genuinely humble angel of many writers, Alberto Benipayo, a publisher who checks his profits with one eye to measure with the other how much he can stand to lose again for art's sake — and he knows his arts and his economics; Carlos Fernandez, president of the Columbian Club, another "regular guy in spite of being a millionaire"; and an assortment of notables in mag-

avoid friction but we also should avoid great occasions."

The final Charter came into existence at the Congress at Copenhagen in 1948—the product of the whole history of the P.E.N. and of all the past resolutions that had been so heatedly argued out. It had required alertness as well as idealism, for good intentions sometimes can be almost as damaging as deliberate destructiveness. Two years before the Charter was adopted, for instance, the American delegation offered a resolution reaffirming the P.E.N. championship of free speech but qualifying it with the phrase "so far as it is consistent with public order." The perennial justification of tyrannical censorship always has been the plea of "public order" and the French and Belgium delegations promptly moved to have the resolution altered.

The delegates to the Congresses do not, of course, spend all their time weighing matters of policy. The yearly meetings are also delightful social events, a gathering of writers from all over the world who want to enjoy one another's ideas and company and to exchange notes on the problems of the craft.

During the rest of the year there is a great deal of informal visiting back and forth, with each P.E.N. member made welcome in any country he visits that has a P.E.N. center.

Most writers enjoy talking to their fellow professionals especially if the discussion is brisk, well informed and argumentative. When the American center gave its first dinner in 1922,

Journalism allows its readers to witness history. Fiction gives its readers the opportunity to live it.

—JOHN HERSEY

at the Coffee House Club in New York, the youthful editor of *The Bookman* noted with approval the liveliness of the conversation. "If there were not some good quarreling," he remarked on one occasion of the P.E.N. dinners, "they would be failures." When he himself became president in 1951 he started a system of his own to assure some "good quarreling"—a panel of speakers

at each monthly dinner who were chosen for the intelligence and vigor of their opinions. They were firmly allowed five minutes apiece, and a brass elephant bell from India kept them from indulging in overtime.

THE increased social liveliness that John Farrar brought to the American Center in 1951 coincided with a period in which the United States was gathering momentum in its swing toward internationalism. The headquarters of the United Nations is an outward sign of a new state of things. Some people say that writers are so individualistic that they cannot stick together. Nevertheless, thousands of writers of alien cultures and differing points of view have stayed together in a world organization for 35 years and, what is more to the point, have never betrayed the basic idealism that brought them together in the first place.

Writers have their melancholy moments, and they sometimes feel they have very little influence in a gray world of armaments and power politics. As Forster said in 1944, "We cannot hope to cut any ice," but he added cheerfully, "we may succeed in melting a little," and it is to that magnificently realistic objective that the International P.E.N. has addressed itself.

—Marchette Chute

December 26, 1958

Let's Reflect a Little



by Manuel Quezon as broadcast over DZWS

MUCH of civilized living consists of doing things according to a set of rules called good manners. Fundamental right and wrong ordinarily are not involved in themselves. It makes absolutely no difference whether you use a spoon, a fork or a knife to put a piece of meat into your mouth. But it is human psychology to do frequently repeated actions in more or less the same way. This is so true that those who decide not to follow convention in reality adopt the rule not to follow rules. Going back to the piece of meat, today we are surprised if we see someone spear a piece of meat with a knife to eat it. Still, in itself it really makes no difference at all, except perhaps for the danger of cutting one's mouth. The case is entirely different if one uses that same knife to spear an innocent human being deliberately. The act would be wrong even if a big group of people got together and said it was all right.

Because of the conventional value of manners, some disregard them or even treat the subject with contempt. We are familiar with the phrases "a diamond in the rough" and "he really has a heart of gold." It sometimes takes sustained effort to dig deep enough to find that heart of gold buried under thick layers of crude manners.

People who have a low regard for good manners are frequently sincere about it. Some people identify politeness with effeminateness or inferiority complex. They miss the point entirely.

Good manners are anything but effeminate. Here the old Spanish proverb applies—"lo cortés no quita lo valiente" (one's bravery is not lessened a bit by politeness).

Least of all are good manners a sign of inferiority complex. On the contrary, they impart dignity to a person. One of the most obvious signs of a man who has money and little else is his faulty manners. Today we frequently see a group of noisy individuals lumber into a restaurant, sprawl all over the chairs at a table, summon a waiter roughly, gorge themselves and pull out a big fat roll of paper bills to pay. They think they are showing everyone in the restaurant how much they are worth. But the poor waiter who politely serves them shows that he is worth much more than all of them put together. It is these people who have inferiority complex—an inferiority complex is an inferiority complex, even when turned inside out.

It is unfortunate that there seems to be a widespread tendency to give up the Filipino tradition of good manners and mutual respect. Many consider it all right to be rude, to be offensive in their humor. They think that politeness and respect are against the democratic spirit.

When a man has to depend on rudeness to make an impression, or to show that he is as good as anyone else, he deserves our pity. He impresses no one. And as to showing that he is as good as the next, he is fooling himself. He certainly is fooling no one else. Our tradition of good manners and mutual respect is worth more than all the shiny cars and baubles, which often are considered a fitting substitute.

God's blessings upon all—

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*Don't miss
the important ones.
Take note of these
twenty masterpieces
of modern fiction
that should be
in the library
of every
well-read person*

The Sound and the Fury by William Faulkner, 1929

Using the radically different viewpoints of three sons — Benjy, Jason, and Quentin Compson — Faulkner shows the disintegration of an aristocratic Southern family and the wreckage of a once-satisfactory way of life on the shoals of modernity. There is far more to the story, however, than this. In the stream of consciousness of the idiot Benjy, the author tries to comprehend a life of pure, timeless sensation. In Quentin, we are shown a sensitiveness that leads to despair and suicide. And in Jason we see a narrowness and cruelty which assure survival but which cast doubt upon the value of a survival bought under these terms.

Swann's Way (The Remembrance of Things Past)

by Marcel Proust, 1913

Regarded by all critics as one of the supremely great works of the twentieth century, this novel explores characters of extraordinary complexity with marvelous subtlety and penetration. It presents the world as seen from the inner consciousness of the individual, in such a way as to create a special intimacy between the character and the reader. Because of its viewpoint and the unconventional nature of much of its material, it was important in the development of the modern novel.

Ulysses

by James Joyce, 1922

One of the greatest novels ever written. With Proust's *The Remembrance of Things Past* and Mann's *The Magic Mountain*, it stands in the very forefront not only of modern literature but of the literature of all time. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the effect of this work on all succeeding novelists. It gave them a way of exploring the soul of man by use of interior monologue, myth, and symbol. It showed great virtuosity in exploiting and revitalizing the English language.

The Plague

by Albert Camus, 1948

On the surface, the novel is an account of a visitation of bubonic plague to Oran, Algeria. Underneath the more obvious story (which is gripping in itself), it is an allegory of man's fate. The plague may be interpreted as life itself, and the different characters as different ways of responding to the problem of human misery. Camus says that the means of coping with the irrationality of the human condition is not to be found in reason or in any fixed moral standard. Man cannot be sure that he is acting for good, but he can make an effort not to add to suffering. Human contact is necessary for every man. Like the character Rambert in the novel, we can find spiritual comfort only in combating a common evil.

The Sun Also Rises by Ernest Hemingway, 1926

The horrors of the First World War, which seemed to expose all the ideals of Christian civilization as hollow pretenses, made the twenties a period of despair for many who felt that life had lost its meaning. A considerable number of the most creative spirits of the time felt there was no place for them in an America which had repudiated the League of Nations and elected Harding to replace Wilson. They lingered on in Paris as expatriates. *The Sun Also Rises* gave voice to their disillusionment and to that of a whole generation.



The Trial

by Franz Kafka, 1937

Although many have seen in this book a symbolic representation of man's relation to God, its chief appeal and influence has rested on the quality of horror it evokes at the helplessness of modern man in the face of authorities and social processes he cannot understand.

The Heart of the Matter

by Graham Greene, 1948

The story is laid on the humid West African coast. It concerns the struggle of a virtuous police officer with his conscience when he finds himself caught in a conflict between loyalty and duty. For unselfish motives, he chooses death, though he thereby loses heaven. The novel is one more statement of the bewildering complexity of modern life.

The Magic Mountain by Thomas Mann, 1925

Generally regarded as one of the greatest novels of the twentieth century, this philosophical novel, set in a Swiss sanatorium just before the First World War, goes beyond physical disease to reveal the moral disease of the age. It is a landmark in the development of the symbolic novel.

U.S.A.

by John Dos Passos, 1930, 1932, 1936

This trilogy presents a complete cross section of American life from the beginning of the century to the start of the Depression. It is the widest panorama of modern America attempted by any writer. We see a dozen major characters—from a public relations executive and a movie star to a labor organizer and a common seaman—swept by these decades' increasingly turbulent currents through war and peace.

A Passage to India

by E. M. Forster, 1924

A thoughtful and sensitive consideration of the clash of cultures as imperialism recedes and peoples long in subjection to alien overlords struggle to assert their independence and to re-establish themselves in their old ways with only the shattered remains of their former customs. A large element of the book is the attempt to understand Oriental religion and to present it fairly.

Women in Love

by D. H. Lawrence, 1921

This is one of the most important novels to appear after World War I. In it Lawrence expresses with characteristic vigor and passion his highly personal philosophy, his rebellion against the structured society which he felt was stifling man. The characters in the novel represent different degrees of success and failure in facing and coping with this problem. The most successful, Lawrence suggests, are those who achieve the most intense, enveloping, whole relationship between male and female and between man and nature. These alone sustain themselves as individuals, fulfilling themselves, asserting their uniqueness, and rejecting our corrupting civilization.

The Grapes of Wrath by John Steinbeck, 1939

This great document of the thirties will help the present prosperity-nurtured generation to understand the minds of their older contemporaries to whom the Depression was a more disturbing experience than war. The members of the Joad family, whose struggles and misfortunes and poverty in those cruel years is the theme of the novel, serve to remind us of our common humanity and move us to admire the patience and fortitude of the average man.

Man's Fate

by Andre Malraux, 1934

Set in revolutionary (and counter-revolutionary) China in 1926. *Man's Fate*, like Koestler's *Darkness at Noon* and Silone's *Bread and Wine*, examines communist promise and accomplishment. It dramatically portrays the revolutionist who sacrifices the present, himself, and others, in the belief that he is aiding humanity to obtain a happier future, but who fails to see that he is sacrificing ends for means.

I, Claudius

by Robert Graves, 1934

One of the best of the modern historical novels. It is remarkable not only for the scholarship which is the foundation for its convincing evocation of the times, but also for the revelation of the character of the central figure. It serves to remind us that the men of the past were similar to the men of the present and that our troubles are eternal.

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neys would be advantageous.

GENERAL OUTLOOK: On the material side you need to plan carefully, but there is no indication of disaster or setbacks during the twelve months. If you are hoping to get on in the world you will find women more kindly allies than men. Travel if you can. If you cannot, do your best to keep the family atmosphere serene.



CAPRICORN The Goat

DEC. 21-JANUARY 19

YOUR 1959 program is likely to be a varied one. On the one hand you should be going full speed for success in your career and the accumulation of money. On the other hand there is much hard work ahead of you and probably some difficulties of a personal kind. It is fortunate that you have unusual tenacity and so will be able to face up to any difficult moments.

FINANCES: These should be easy enough, generally speaking, but during 1959 you should aim at improving your reputation, rather than adding to your bank balance. It would be better to take a job that leads you on the right path in life than to concentrate on something that is well paid but not particularly good for you.

Money will come in, other than through your working life. Possibly family conditions will improve and relatives could help you. There is a definite possibility of legacies or windfalls of some kind that will help you to cope not only with your usual expenditure, but also with holidays and personal luxuries.

FAMILY LIFE: Here you must face the possibility of change. Whatever your relatives may try to do, don't criticize them too much. There must be alterations in your present way of life and you would be wise to accept them. Give your loved ones full range to do as seems good to them.

FRIENDSHIPS AND MARRIAGE: Socially you are now in the midst of a very interesting period. You have already made some useful contacts and they will prove invaluable as 1959 goes by. If you are contemplating marriage you will get an opportunity to settle down this year, in spite of a certain amount of opposition to your plans. For most people born in this period, though, friendships will matter more than intimate associations.

HEALTH: You could build up your health successfully, particularly in the last six months of the year. Any health difficulties would be obvious

continued on next page

Soon in the WEEKLY WOMEN'S MAGAZINE

If widowhood should come

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DEMOCRACY has become so thoroughly imbedded in our consciousness that we naturally tend to identify the democratic form of government with just government, to the exclusion of any other form. However, democracy is not synonymous with just government, but rather the safest means for insuring just government.

What is just government? It is a government that is just in its possession and exercise of power, as well as in the philosophy behind that power and its exercise. In judging the merits of a particular government we must ask a fundamental question: Does it, or does it not, recognize any limits to the power of the State? Does it, or does it not, recognize that there are areas of human life outside the scope of its power? In this lies a far more basic difference between governments than that between power in the hands of one, a few or many. It is the touchstone that first tells us whether a particular government can possibly be good.

When a government is founded on the premise that it has a monopoly of all power and all right over every aspect of human life, it is basically unjust. It destroys the very concept of human nature, of human life which a government ought to protect. It reduces men to the status of so many cogs with a meaning only in relation

Let's Reflect a Little

January 2, 1959

to the machinery of the State, nothing else. The very notion of human dignity and human personality is erased. It was such an absolute concept of the state that gave rise to the attempted extermination of a whole people in the case of Nazi Germany.

On the other hand, a government founded on the conviction that its powers have definite limits, beyond which all attempted exercise of power is an abuse — such a government has passed the first test for a just government. A government must recognize that its field of

by Manuel Quezon

as broadcast over DZWS

in the first three months of 1959 and would tend to fade out in the middle of the year. Remember that your weakness arise more from semi-cronic conditions, such as anaemia or arthritis.

TRAVEL: As a rule Sun Capricornians are not eager travelers. There are indications, though, that you would move about more than usual this year, either early in the period or towards your next birthday. There is also the likelihood that you would get an opportunity to move away from your present neighborhood or to go to another country.

GENERAL OUTLOOK: You should be making great headway in the world in 1959 and the chances are that you will be better known by Christmas. Your income will be satisfactory, though not as much as you would wish. Windfalls are likely during the course of the year. Your emotional life should be pleasant enough, provided you make the most of friendships that are already developing. Don't force changes, though you may have to accept one or two in the family group.



AQUARIUS The Waterbearer

JANUARY 20-FEB. 18

PEOPLE born under this Sign of the Zodiac have been experiencing a great deal of tension for some time past. For many of them chan-

WHAT IS THERE FOR YOU IN COMING ISSUES OF THE WEEKLY WOMEN'S MAGAZINE?



a miracle to remember

The Story of
Bernadette Soubirous

ges materialized in 1958. If they did not, then early 1959 should bring some readjustments. Once they have been made, existence should be calmer and the conditions at the end of the year should be pretty favorable.

FINANCES: From this point of view life is due to improve. Though you may have to take certain chances absurd a year or two ago, you will not be short of money. Indeed you are likely to build up reserves and these will serve you well if you are thinking of launching out in a new way of life next year.

It would be foolish, though, to worry too much about the distant future. You will gain security through inheritance or through the family at the end of 1959, but, where your job is concerned, you must take a few risks. However well you may be doing, don't hope for too much permanence.

FAMILY LIFE: Here, again, troubled moments will loom up in the next two months of the year and to a lesser extent towards Christmas time. There must be certain changes in your domestic group before times become more settled. Don't resist alterations in your daily round or try to tie relatives too closely to you.

FRIENDSHIPS AND MARRIAGE: If you are planning marriage, you will get your opportunity to marry before the year is half through. Before you can achieve happiness, though, there is a decision to be made that you have possibly hoped to avoid. Socially you will seem to be doing well and you will realize by the end of the year that you have made some useful friends. Don't forget those who have been good to you in the past, since they will still be helpful and comforting this year.

HEALTH: You may be suffering from emotional exhaustion at the moment or from a certain amount of heart strain. In 1959 you will be wiser to look after yourself a little more than usual and to avoid fatigue as much as you conveniently can. The months when you might be more conscious of health strain would be February, May, August and November.

TRAVEL: This could have developed late in 1958 and you should be on the move again this year. If you are planning journeys, aim at completing them before the end of August. It would be wise to be near home in the last three months of the year.

GENERAL OUTLOOK: From a material angle this should be a more prosper-

ous year than you have had lately. Moves and opportunities in the middle of the period should do you a world of good in your career. You could also gain through windfalls. In personal life there may be one or two changes still ahead, but, once they are completed, your mind will be at rest. One old friend will become nearer and dearer to you as the year progresses.



PISCES The Fish

FEBRUARY 19-MARCH 20

TIMES are improving for people born under the Sign of the Fishes. Early in 1959 they will emerge from what has been a period of restriction and testing and, by the end of the year, they should be doing well. If you are a Sun Piscean be patient for a month or two. You will find that after that you are all set for happier days.

FINANCES: There should have been evidence of security in the last twelve months. The outlook grows steadily better throughout 1959 and is exceptionally good after March or April, and again after September. Do all you can to save, since you have a full and exciting life ahead of you and you will need to spend lavishly.

There is every prospect of a inheritance or money out of the blue. Also, as the months go by, you will realize that you are better equipped for money making than you realize. Events of the coming year



activity is limited—and limited not because the government chooses to inhibit itself, but because the nature of government is itself limited. A just government must recognize that its people are not solely parts of the whole, without any meaning aside from the whole. There are aspects of a human being that are entirely outside the scope of the State, whether or not the State chooses to recognize the fact. A man's right to develop his personality, to seek his own perfection and his happiness within the limits of morality, to acquire the truth, to perform his duties to God—these, and others, are rights which the State cannot invade without the greatest injustice.

In itself it is indifferent whether government be in the hands of one, a few or many—it may be just or unjust. Even a democracy may be basically unjust if the idea of inviolable rights independent of the State is not accepted. It does not help to say that the people agree to grant certain rights or to suppress them, all in a democratic fashion. Where fundamental rights are concerned, it does no good for the people to attempt to create them. A group of people without such fundamental rights cannot give themselves those rights by mere agreement. No one gives that which he does not have in any way. It is a matter of recognizing rights already in existence. And

then any attempt to abolish such rights does not affect their existence one whit. It merely makes the government unjust.

On the other hand a government of one man may recognize the basic human rights and not invade them. As the one man governing could be governing alone by the legitimate mandate of a democratic majority, in view of the needs of the country, how could we doubt the justice of the process?

Nevertheless, in practice a democratic government gives a greater degree of safety in the matter of just government. It is very unlikely that people at large will admit that they have no inviolable rights.

But we must be continually on our guard against the tendency to violate rights simply on the basis of majority rule. That is mob rule, a pure matter of greater physical power, which does not of itself grant moral power.

We must see to it that our leaders, in the exercise of their powers, do not pass measures destructive of the human person. When our government begins to act as though a thing were just, simply because they, the people's representatives, so desire, we must beware. We may retain the outward form of democracy but actually be under the tyranny of the mob.

would do much to build up your self-confidence.

FAMILY LIFE: There is a house move in prospect, unless you have uprooted yourself late in 1958. There is a possibility that you could convert your present house or in some way radically alter your present way of life. It is highly improbable, though, that you would be allowed to stay in your present groove or carry on as you have done in the last few years.

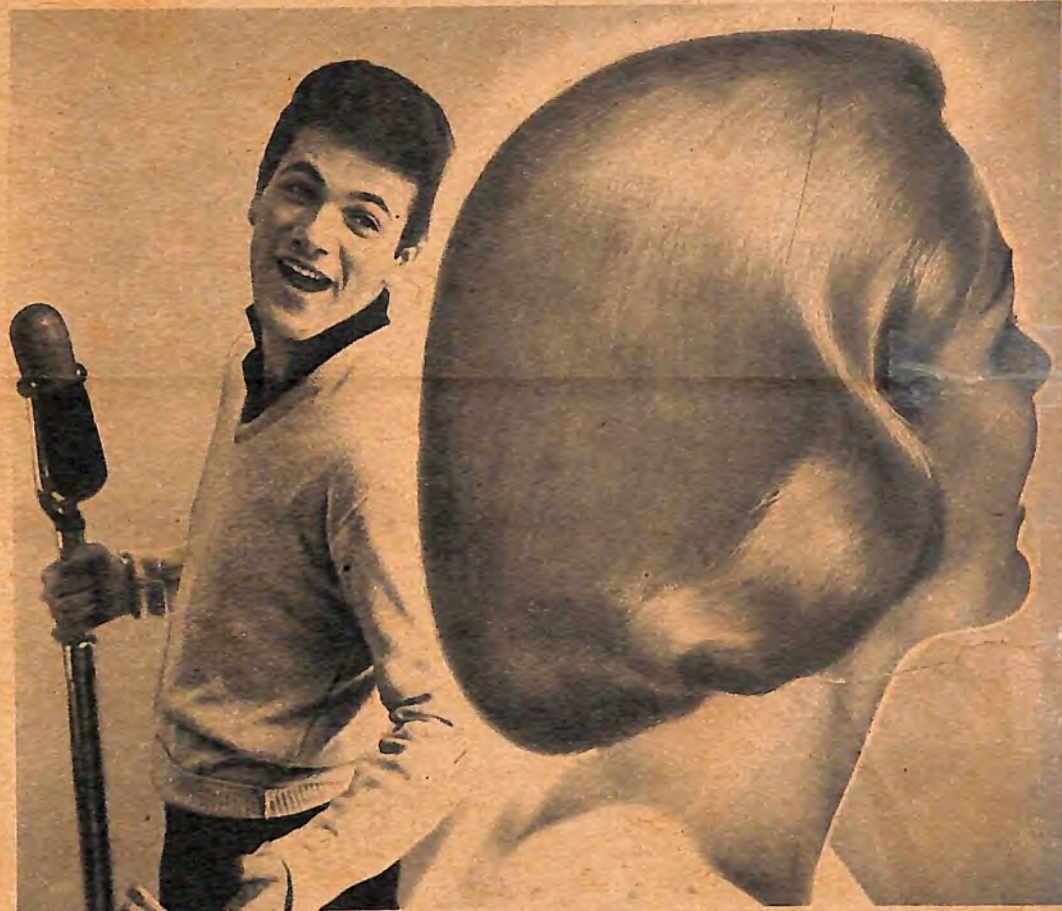
FRIENDSHIPS AND MARRIAGE: Changes will work out for good and you need not dread them. If you are thinking of marrying or re-marrying you will take the first step towards such an undertaking half-way through this year. Until Easter be as patient as you can with friends and relatives who could be tiresome and exacting. Don't take on any fresh responsibilities this year.

HEALTH: Sun Pisceans' health is usually a problem, but in 1959 this is not likely to get out of hand. Provided you take reasonable care of yourself, particularly in June and September, you should have few, if any, physical setbacks.

TRAVEL: Opportunities to travel will undoubtedly come your way and you should take advantage of them. You will not only make money through journeys, but you will also make useful social contacts. However inconvenient travel may be, seize all the chances that come your way.

GENERAL OUTLOOK: In material matters you are now heading for very good times. You may have a few moments of doubt or difficulty early in the year, but they will be short lived. As your prospects improve, so will your connections abroad strengthen. Where people are concerned, be patient for a time and don't commit yourself too far. There are changes ahead and, when they do occur, they will bring you greater happiness than you can at the moment visualize.

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After the Holidays

*there is a certain sense of frustration,
and this tragedy is the just outcome of too much
preoccupation during Christmas
with the really unimportant
material things that
have become our habit to expect*

by Gloria Garchitorena-Goloy



FIRST, it comes as a vague hint of fatigue. It is hard to tell whether one feels it in the bones or in the muscles — so vagrant and diffused it is. But one recognizes it as a sense of real, very real, physical tiredness.

Soon, the feeling develops into a kind of lassitude that is more than just physical. It is as though the body, losing its vigor, seeks to pass on to the soul a corresponding deflation of energy and animation. One vainly tries to rest or sleep off the (physical) fatigue in an effort to shake off, too, the (spiritual) ennui, but failing in circumventing it, one plunges anew into frenzied activity, regardless of the consequent lapse into physical exhaustion.

Something like this will happen to us come the day after Three Kings and on the days thereafter.

By turns, we will brim over with exceeding self-sufficiency, then with distressing listlessness; in one moment, we shall have reached the acme of fulfillment and in the next, wonder about its worth.

Whether this is an ill-deserved emotional aftermath is beside the point, although one must safely infer that indulgence in the holiday bacchanalia can only lead not to its gradual dissipation but to its abrupt curtailment.

Eventually, this feeling becomes identified as a strong sense of loss, which, while apparently an illogical consequence, seems to be the closest representation of the post-holiday mood.

NOW, Christmas is hardly the event to associate with anything remotely depressing. Indeed, Christmas being what it is — the birth of the Redeemer — it should by all means be heralded among men with a greater rejoicing than the angels stirred up among themselves, considering that men have so much to profit from the Nativity than do the angels.

But that, I suppose, is only to be expected since our idea of the Christmas holidays and our manner of participating in it hardly conforms with the spiritual value it properly deserves.

Consider how a typical family anticipates the coming of Christmas.

Weeks in advance, the mother shops for some of the items included in the all-important L.N.P. (List of Necessary Purchases). What are they?

There is the inevitable Chinese lam which will hang at its appointed place in the kitchen for all the household to view and sniff in order to be filled with the proper Yuletide spirit. Mama must

also bring home from the market a couple of young fowls — as well as a pig, if she can afford one. They will be fed and fattened and pampered, living in style, we might say, until the Eve of Christmas when everything will have to come to a swift and alas, bloody end. (In unfeeling parody, perhaps of the Immolated Lamb?)

A varied assortment of fruits, nuts, delicacies, etc., will also be brought home from the shops, as if in anticipation of the enormous appetites which every family member suddenly develops overnight. It is perhaps with this prospect in mind that Mama strives to create an impression of abundance by hauling in an infinite variety of appetizers.

While Mama takes care of her culinary obligations, Papa, (if he is the homebody, do-it-yourself-type) busies himself with his craftwork. Now is the time for all good men like him to come to the aid of their children who will think nothing of stringing up all shapes and all sizes of lanterns, and the season's thingamajigs in every aperture in the house. Where before, the star-shaped *parol* was the traditional Christmas decorative motif, today one finds huge fishes, cleverly contrived flowers, gigantic asterisks, fantastic abstrac-

tions, and life-sized Santa Clausen hung like woe-begone monstrosities on their respective scaffolds. It has gotten to be so that one wonders whether man's relish for this small-scale sadism come Christmastime is not actually a betrayal of his ancient guilt complex for having hung on a cross, centuries ago, the guiltless Nazarene. It is pathetic that, in attempting to demonstrate a convincing show of commemorating His yearly Birth, man merely succeeds in projecting a revised forecast of the Crucifixion.

But let's not spoil the Yuletide mood by dwelling on the macabre. For all we know, our participation in the seasonal festivities may really be nothing more than a cultural hangover, in which we may harmlessly indulge.

So, the lanterns are hung, the food is stored away, the Christmas tree is set up and the seasonal paraphernalia is brought out once more for the annual display. Neglected corners of the house get a thorough cleaning out and the floors are burnished to high polish. Tables, bookshelves and any box-like contraption acquire their respective covers while flowers, both the artificial and the real, suddenly chortle the frequently ignored glass containers on the walls.

The curtains, too, are not to be left out. How drab the house would look during the holidays if it is not rigged up with crisp, new curtains blaring their loud, Christmas colors! And with almost every house putting on its best appearance, one would think a nationwide Home-Beautification-Week had been launched.

AT about this time, favorite dressmakers and haberdasheries have their hands full with orders for new clothes for the season. Patrons come in for fittings not only for one dress but for three — one for the Misa de Gallo, another for the New Year's Eve shindig, and a third for the family reunion on the Feast of the Epiphany. The more affluent ones will probably have more than the usual sartorial repertoire, depending on the number of occasions at which they will be worn. Needless to say, the quality of the clothing material will be luxurious because on Christmas, only the best will be donned, even if it is worth a fortune. For on Christmas, the family, strutting around in its special holiday wear (clothes, shoes, and all) must rate an appreciative sizing up — better still, one that provokes an

continued on page 26

Let's Reflect a Little

November 14, 1958

by Manuel Quezon as broadcast over DZWS

DO we really want democracy? I sometimes wonder. We talk enough about it. We are certainly vocal enough about our rights and prerogatives as free citizens of a free republic. We talk about our individual rights and how the government cannot do this, that or the other to us. The government cannot deprive us of this, that or the other thing. Our constitutional rights... and so on and so forth.

Well and good. But that alone will not ensure democracy. The general affirmation of rights alone will lead not to democracy, but to anarchy. After all, democracy is a form of government—and any government must maintain unity. If we give weight exclusively to individual rights, which tend to pull society apart, we shall not have democracy, because we shall not have even government, or at best we shall have weak, ineffective government, which is almost equivalent to having no government at all.

In life we do not get anything truly worthwhile for nothing. If we want democracy we must be willing to do what democracy requires. We must be as deeply convinced about our duties as about our rights.

Some of those duties are difficult to identify, because they are not marked out by legislation. Such is the obligation to be well informed about issues of common interest, to form an intelligent judgment on them and, if necessary, to express that judgment—in other words, to form a sound and vigorous public opinion.

Public opinion is vital to a democracy. In fact, democracy has on occasion been defined as government by public opinion. The idea of democracy is that the whole people should have some part in government. In a representative democracy, such as ours, the part of the people consists in choosing their representatives who shall govern and in exerting influence on those representatives so that the latter, once elected, will govern according to the mind of the people and for the benefit of the people. The process of choosing elective officials will be a failure if the people are not well informed about the character, the record and the platform of each individual running for office. Above all, the process will be a failure if the people do not have a sound set of principles against which to measure candidates and public issues. And the people will not be able to influence those who are elected to govern unless the people know the facts and have sound principles—and unless the elected officials realize that public opinion is a force to be reckoned with.

We must confess that if our government and our way of life suffer from marked defects, we must lay the blame largely on the lack of a strong and sound public opinion. There is as yet too much apathy in the citizens—even on issues of vital public interest.

True, we cannot expect a well-formed public opinion in the large uneducated section of the citizenry. But we do not get the response we should—even from those in a position to form a judgment on public affairs.

Perhaps people are just too lazy to gather facts and draw conclusions. Perhaps disappointment over the obvious blemishes on politics is to blame. But, whatever the cause, we must take an interest in the affairs that concern us all. It must be an interest kept free as much as possible from passions and inconsideration.

We are seriously remiss in the fulfilment of our civic duty if we do not take part in public life at least to the extent of forming a sound opinion on public issues and expressing that opinion if need be. Is it too much to ask that we put some of our time into acquiring sound principles to be used as criteria for judging public issues? Is it too much to ask that we gather the facts and see how they measure up to those principles? If it is too much to ask, it is also too much to expect our democracy to survive in anything but name.

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BULLYING is the bane of the backwoods. It was bad enough twenty years ago. Now it's worse. To be kicked around by a lot of little ones is no better than being stomped on by a big one. Tyranny is tyranny.

Time was every province had one big bully, rooted to his knees, stretching clear to the sky; or two medium-sized bullies with horns perennially locked; or three bullies of assorted sizes, the smallest, of necessity the smartest, maneuvering the other two, battle-scarred and punch-drunk too, into a mutual defeat that would be his silver-plattered victory.

There is no such thing today as a really big one, as bullies go. One by one, they make their stand and go under, in Cavite, in Negros, in Vizcaya. They are not a dying breed. They are a breed deliberately killed off, one way or another, under the auspices of a new ideology, then multiplied and reborn. In the wake of the felled molave comes the crop of poisonous mushrooms.

Old patterns and old habits are with us yet. The uttermost-top long having been the goal, there's still, emotionally, only one way to go: up, in a straight line up, whoosh!, all the way up, bang!, preferably with the foot on somebody's head, and more feet feeling for a head than there are heads.

Now, a multiplicity of bullies is a good sign, if you believe in signs, more, if you believe in democracy. It indicates the break-through, the adjustment of the individual to self-government, the affirmation at least of spirit if not of principle, so the wrong way is still the right idea — what's good for one is good for all or it's bad for everybody: comes the great regimentation, admittedly, but by free will, not by force, which again is the great difference. As imperfect human beings (this is the storm cellar where humanity hides when it can't finish what it starts), we feel it our mortal right to be wrong and our privilege to be stupid.

Democracy is the latest thing we've started that we can't stop. It began as a theory. Now it's an assembly line that has produced bullies by the million. It must in the end be the machinery to scrap its own product, or the next time we come out of the cellar there won't be anything left. The province that doesn't have a score or a hundred or a thousand bullies banded together or breaking up or reforming, trying to keep each other down but mostly having to keep the people down not to go under themselves, is a province either unawakened or never there.

All this churning up and trampling down makes living in the province socially unbearable: If the latest brand of bullies just settled their little

struggle for power among themselves, fair enough, the best gladiators are born, not made, but as part of the ammo they scoop up and cannonball the helpless bystander. That's what makes provincial living a misery instead of the spectator sport it ought to be.

The only cure for a bully is a bigger one. People are beginning to realize this, and to do this or that about it. When they can't produce a bigger bully locally, they import one from a nearby province, where somebody else grows them burlier, or they send direct to Manila for a product more surly than burly but quicker in the head, better armed and, if known to the police, also innured to them. Or they invite a hero to their hometown and maybe the hero gets a taste of something more than the local fiesta.

This last alternative happened by accident. Right in the guerrilla family, too, and no better place for

it to happen: what "family" in the national grouping has produced nastier bullies faster and in greater number? And who can line one up better than a hundred others? This is what is going on now in the privacy of the guerrilla family: a provincial group of genuine resistants, unable to control the local bully or to produce or import a bigger one to break him, invited — for a different reason — a known hero, a leader, to their emotional-misery spot, or blot, on the map. They needed his advice and legal assistance in routine veterans affairs.

Unwittingly, unintentionally, but certainly because they had no control over their local situation, the host guerrillas exposed their guest hero to the kind of humiliation they themselves have endured, for lack of a better idea, for some 15 years. The local bully, partly the cause of their difficulties, they failed to reckon with because they underestimated

both his courage and his stupidity. Too, like them, he was a "genuine" guerrilla and therefore, no matter how loutish, better than the best non-guerrilla. They not only ignored him as one way to oppose him without hurting him, or getting hurt themselves, but they failed to keep track of him. He was the last thing in their minds as they waited for the guerrilla leader who would come and straighten out their paper work and do other little things like their thinking for them.

Now, they knew everything about their expected guest-hero except the man himself. They knew his war record. They knew his record of government service. They knew his humble beginnings and his seeming simplicity. They knew he had friends from Malacañan to Muntinglupa and that, in retirement, he was devoting himself to veterans affairs. That was more or less all they knew.



They did not know that he had never in his life been bullied. Challenged, yes, but never pinned down, never licked.

If anything, in his youth he had been himself a bully, a glad hearted one — many of them are — inviting challenge or accepting it and having a brawling good time of it. As a young bully, he had never met a bigger one. Almost every scar on him — bolo, blackjack, knife — was a purple heart before the war, not during it. On most he put scars as big as the scars they put on him. One he killed, not by accident; he meant to; a fair fight had gone foul and he won by crushing the victim's heart, driving down on the ribs with his heel, cooling the heel behind bars for six months while a lawyer, now himself a national leader, proved self-defense and got his client free, free of charge. Not even enemy invasion constituted "the bigger one" because in the resistance over and over again



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November 28, 1955

Let's Reflect a Little

by **Manuel Quezon** as broadcast over DZWS



WITHIN a period of two weeks, news came of the first British and American commercial jet crossings of the Atlantic. These events only serve to underline the fact that today the man in the middle of Africa and the man in the middle of Australia, the woman cooking a meal in an Eskimo igloo and the woman setting the automatic stove in her New York apartment can no longer live in blissful unconcern for one another. Their centuries-old ways of life no longer run parallel courses. They intersect—and not once, but again and again. How the French African colonies voted on whether to remain within the French Union or strike out on their own may well vitally affect the market for our hemp and copra. A change in the Middle East situation may easily affect the availability of farming supplies in a Mindanao barrio.

But our life, besides being altered in an economic or military sense by the unincreased international dependence, will be even more seriously affected in a cultural sense. We will be exposed more and more to cultural currents from countries of a very different background, historically and racially. It is well for us to consider what attitude we should adopt.

We have entered into the arena of independent national existence. This is something of which we should justly be proud. It is the result of the efforts of Filipinos, not a gift handed to us on a silver platter, as some would have us believe. Together with the acquisition of a recognized international individuality, we like to think of ourselves as also possessing an individual national culture. Do we possess such a thing? I would unhesitatingly say that we do. We possess a culture and a way of life distinctly and unmistakably Filipino.

Some say that what we call our culture is not our own, that it is something mainly imported from outside. But has there ever been an advanced civilization of any sort which viewed nothing from the outside? Rome, Greece, China, India all underwent influence to a greater or lesser extent. What makes a culture one's own is not being all home grown. A culture becomes one's own when the elements entering into it, be they foreign or native, are amalgamated and given a distinctive stamp by the national genius. Certainly the elements of our culture, be they originally Malay or Chinese or European, have formed a combination stamped very distinctively by the Filipino character. Just as so many of us have a mixture of the blood of different races running in our veins, yet such people are Filipinos, and not the nationalities that entered into the mixture, so the elements of our culture may be amalgam, but the result is Filipino.

To wish to eradicate all foreign-traces from our culture is to destroy what is so characteristically and wonderfully Filipino — the pleasant blending of the old and the new, the East and the West. It is to destroy our peculiar position as a bridge between East and West, belonging to both partly, yet not entirely either, and therefore able to sympathize with both and to disagree with either.

We should be proud rather than ashamed of what some disdainfully call our hybrid culture. All great cultures have to a large extent been hybrid. And the tendency towards cultural blending is growing stronger all over the world. It is a natural result of the growing together of peoples.

No, we must take culture as it is, basically a blend of East and West, distinctively stamped as our own. Remember, truth and beauty are the rightful heritage of all men — and when we possess them, they are our own, no longer alien. We must not be ashamed of our cultural heritage, although naturally we must be willing to change what is undesirable, while clinging to the eternal values which we are fortunate enough to possess. With this firm hold on the unchangeable moral and spiritual values of our past, we must face the cultural changes of the future unafraid, eager to take the good and the beautiful, while uncompromisingly rejecting the rest. We may be sure that addition to our culture, even if they should come from outside, will be assimilations, not mere juxtapositions, and the end result will still be decidedly Filipino.

Christmas



TYPICAL of the cute little ceramic pieces fashioned in the modern manner to appeal to the educated taste, these giraffes strike the eye with their black spots pleasantly set against the yellow color that gives the clean straight lines, along which the figures have been designed, the gentle approach desired by the designer. Costing P8.50 a piece, these decorative beasts, so small that you can hold them in the palm of your hand, introduce a long and varied line of figurines executed in the same style — and selling approximately the same price.

INFORMATION regarding the stores from which the items included in this section may be bought will be given upon written request. Please address all inquiries to Shopper's Guide, Weekly Women's Magazine, and enclose a self-addressed stamped envelope.

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TALKING POINT

What passes for women's intuition is often nothing more than man's transparency.

—GEORGE JEAN NATHAN

There are some people who read too much. I know some who are constantly drunk on books.

—H. L. MENCKEN

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I WOULD LIKE to propose for your consideration some ideas about the workings of the human will. These ideas will help us answer a question we proposed once in this column. The question was this: "When precisely does the will choose the right and when does it choose the wrong?" Since choice is involved, it seems logical to consider how that choice comes about.

Philosophers call our will a rational appetite. When we hear the word appetite we connect it with the idea of food. Well, the word has a broader meaning than just a tendency or inclination towards food. An appetite is a tendency or inclination towards something, be it food or anything else. Thus when a body is released in mid-air it

Let's Reflect a Little

by Manuel Quezon

as broadcast over DZWS

drops towards the center of the earth. It is thus said to have a tendency to go to the center of the earth. This tendency is correctly called an appetite. The philosophers call it a natural appetite to distinguish it from what they call an elicited appetite.

An elicited appetite is what we ordinarily call an appetite, an inclination which results from knowledge. The appetite for food is such an appetite. It is stimulated when the senses perceive food.

Now the will is also an elicited appetite. Just as the appetite for food results from sense knowledge about food, so the appetite called the will moves when the mind presents it with its object, which is the good.

Now, notice that the appetite for food does not itself perceive the food. The senses perceive the food and then the appetite is stimulated. The appetite itself is blind.

The same can be said of the will. The will does not see the good. The intellect perceives the good and then the will moves towards the good. When, therefore, we call the will rational we do not mean that it can reason. We only mean that rational knowledge puts the will in operation, just as knowledge of the senses moves the appetite towards food.

We said that the object of the will is the good. That is, the will tends towards the good as the appetite for food tends towards food. This is a fact of common experience, which requires no proof. Even when we take vile-tasting medicine we do so because the will is attracted strongly enough by health, which is a good, to accept the disagreeable means to regain health.

But, as we said, the will is blind. The mind must perceive a thing as good, and so present it to the will in order for the will to move towards that good. If, therefore, the mind should present something to the will without the aspect of good, the will remains at rest. Or if the mind should present an object as bad, the will moves away instead and rejects the object. Thus, for example, if the mind of a sick man considers a doctor as someone who will cure him, his will is attracted to the doctor. But if the sick man's mind considers only the perhaps unavoidably painful methods used by the doctor, and does not consider the cure itself, the will turns away from the doctor. In the first case the doctor is considered as something good and, therefore, the will is attracted. In the second case the will is repelled.

It is clear that in reality the doctor is a good, but the mind is able to consider him as a good or an evil. The will, therefore, can move towards him or away from him. Where the mind must present something to the will as good, without any possibility of presenting it as not good, the will necessarily desires that thing and is not free to do otherwise. Such is good in general. The will necessarily

desires good in general and whatever is inseparably connected with good in general. The will is free to desire or not to desire something, or to choose between one thing and another, because the mind is able to present a thing in different aspects of good or not good.

The choice of the will between right and wrong is, therefore, possible because the mind may present as good that which in reality is good—the will then chooses the right—or the mind may present as good that which in reality is bad, and then the will chooses the wrong. This brings up the problem of distinguishing between real good and apparent good. We hope to discuss that problem some other time.



WHERE A COUNTRY BEGINS

CHAIN OF GOOD LUCK, it says. I could use some luck. Anybody can use luck. Let's go buy us some luck. Can't buy it? Let's go beg some then. Can't beg it? Let's steal some. Can't steal it? Maybe we'll have to work for it: if we work for

right army instead of a colonel in the wrong one. I shoulda known. All these years I been faithfully buying my 1/4 share of a whole ticket, never mind the flapping shoe-sole, never mind old bills that haunt and a mortgage to be paid, that 1/4 I buy and eat a late lunch and an early breakfast because a horse is going to win me a dinner to last me a lifetime. But have I ever won even a digit prize?, and I know the manager from away back, too. Even he hasn't won a prize: he can't get that near the horses. Only an AFP private can hit the jackpot.

Somebody else had luck too: "T.



by Yay Marking

of my 13th copy: at 96, I President of the Philippines. The power of the chain limited the radius of Washington, D.C.? of the United States then it's a dream to wish on . . . here I come, spry too.

Let us read on: "President Roxas is said to have sent the reply 24 hours before he received news of his landslide victory in the last election." Something is killing us. That election was held 24 months before Magsayay was heard of Adevosos's destiny. I was willing to bet that 24 hours after the elections, the Philippines' future President was writing memos, not chain letters. I got some bad news: "On the other side of the mountain, Villanueva of Baguio City was at the chain and in an instant heath claimed him." Tsk, tsk. There wasn't a bullet in his hand. Or a knife?

It is also said that President Roxas said that he couldn't get sleep, that no sooner had he

disposed of his public life than the private would actually with forefinger and thumb hold his eyelids open and harangue him for not having discreetly closed his eyes at certain opportune moments of the day. It is said that he said that he would someday die for lack of rest not due to insomnia.

The last paragraph of the letter slips back into that offensive tone of command: "After reading this chain, say a silent prayer of thanksgiving to God Almighty and ask Him for such grace and favor you might desire out of this chain from the bottom of your heart."

That's right. Thank God that you have time and stationery and stamps enough to bedevil 13 other people with superstitious nonsense, either in the name of fun or in the name of God Almighty. Ask the Lord for what you want out of the chain, because out of the chain you are not going to get it, not the good nor even the bad. Ask it from the bottom of your heart for lack of a bottom to your mind.

The religious wind-up to one chain letter must have given somebody else an idea for another kind of chain letter: Two months later this came in the mail: "We are asking a Novina of Our Lady of Perpetual Help to propagate the peace. It consists of nine (9) Hail Mary's for nine evenings. Make twelve (12) copies of this and send them to your friends that you wish luck. Don't ignore this. Six (6) days after complying to this novina you will receive a great favor—" Let's see: 81 prayers, 12 copies and 144 hours of grace. Easy, eh?

But, here we go again: "Mr. Lasco of the Treasurer's Office in Baguio City was promoted to a position with big pay, but Mr. Lasco's misadventure of Baguio City lost his job because he laugh at this novina." Lose your life, lose your job, that's Baguio, two casualties so far and more to go while the chain letters have the chair.

When I think of all the bad luck I've had, all the bad luck I brought on myself, industriously and competently, almost inspiredly, I think the only good luck I could have would be to be born again with the same mother and this time listen to her!

Is he this man?

IN WORK he favors research, administration, science, industry, commerce, civil service, engineering). **AMBITIONS:** Wants to "make good" in his own estimation. Works with brain alone, is rarely satisfied. **LEISURE:** Contrasting "work" is his relaxation — discussion, reading, letter writing. **HOME LIFE:** Difficult and moody in all personal relationships. Must admire what he loves, to those he does not admire is cold and indifferent. **FRIENDS:** Makes many mistakes over people. Admiring intelligence, he is often blind to character. Is hypersensitive to criticism. Head ruling heart, he tends to become colder and more calculating as time goes on.

Is he this man?

IN WORK prefers organization and animation (executive, controller, "boss man" in all). **AMBITIONS:** Sees end when he starts, devotes all to achieving it. Has sustained vitality. **LEISURE:** Likes the more vigorous and dangerous sports, loves theatres, parties, high-level social mover. **HOME LIFE:** Excellent father and fervent husband, loves and expertly handles entertaining. **FRIENDS:** Many, but outgrows old ones and finds new ones as he moves up. Strong sense of responsibility and compassion come later in life. Sturdy, generous.

Is he this man?

IN WORK is attracted to useful service (building, catering, small owner-business, agriculture, skilled art). **AMBITIONS:** Seeks contentment, is a hard and conscientious worker, will often switch jobs to find what he wants. **LEISURE:** Relaxation with family and friends, local activities with liking for good neighborliness. **HOME LIFE:** Benevolent father, kind husband. Single-purposed and trusting. **FRIENDS:** Makes friends mostly within family, always gives without counting on returns. Best friend possible, is able to think and feel inside others.

Have you spotted
him?



NEXT WEEK THE WEEKLY WOMEN'S MAGAZINE
BEGINS A FULL INQUIRY INTO
HUSBANDS AND THEIR HABITS

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The refreshment of friendship

October 10, 1958

Let's Reflect a Little

*In everyday life we are often
words or phrases without
evaluating the meaning commonly
are not doing justice to our mental*

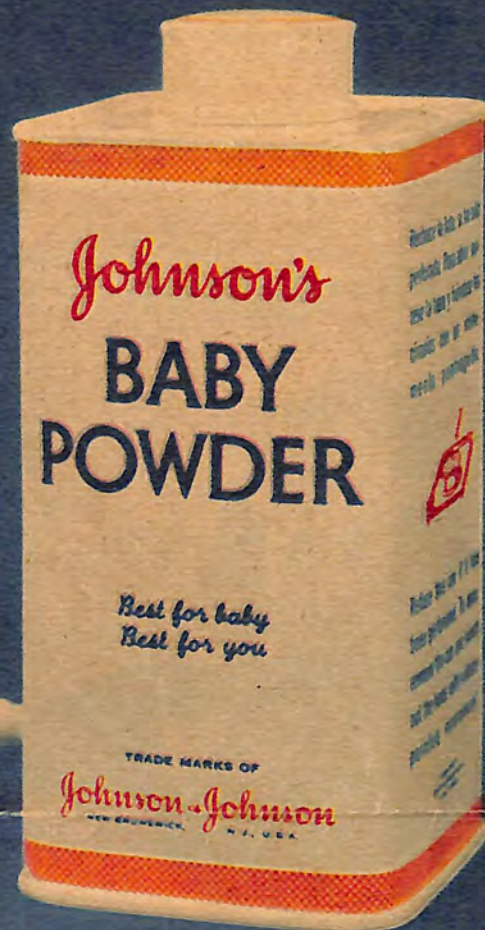
THIS short talk starts off a series we shall be having every week, God willing. It may not be a bad idea to reflect a little on talking itself.

We speak in order to pass on our thoughts and feelings to others, and such is the natural purpose of language. This is why even the biggest liar tell many more truths than lies. Of course, men do sometimes use words as a camouflage for their thoughts; but this is the exception, not the rule.

Yet very often, despite the best of intentions, a man will fail to give others a clear idea of his thoughts. Why? Sometimes, he has a poor command of language. Sometimes, and this is what we often overlook, the man himself does not have a clear idea of what he wants to communicate to others. He uses words without knowing just what they mean. I wonder if we have not all had this experience. We are asked the meaning of a word and we answer: I know what it means, but I cannot express it. Well, that is seldom true. As a rule, one is unable to explain a word because one does not know exactly what it means. A vague idea, yes, but that is not knowing the meaning. And because there is no clear idea, there cannot be a clear transmission of the idea. Clear words spoken into a telephone will come out as clear words at the other end. Mumbled words spoken into a telephone will come out as mumbled words. The transmitting mechanism is there — in one case the telephone, in the other language, but the thing to be transmitted is not. In language, the case is much worse. The words used can and often do give the impression of logical coherence. But if the listener thinks about the meaning of the words, he may find confusion.

In everyday life we are often guilty of using words or phrases without knowing what they mean.

WEEKLY WOMEN'S MAGAZINE



REG. PHIL. PAT. OFF.

Doctors and Mothers Agree on What Baby Powder Must Do



(1) To keep the skin of infants dry and thus prevent rashes, it is important that moisture and salt excreted by the body through the skin be absorbed by powder.

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Only the softest, smoothest, silkiest powder in the world can do all these----

Johnson's Baby Powder Affords the Best Protection!

by
Manuel Quezon

as broadcast
over DZWS



*guilty of using
knowing what they mean or
assigned to them. This way we
powers, so we must fight the habit*

or evaluating the meaning commonly assigned to them. We live in an age of advertising when slogans are coined and repeated, but too seldom pondered upon.

In this connection, I remember hearing this slogan years ago. "Progress means off with the old, on with the new." It is a very catchy phrase and, on the surface, true. But is it? During the Middle Ages the art of making stained-glass windows was brought to perfection, but the secret was lost. In later centuries stained glass was of a very inferior quality. In fact, good stained-glass windows have again been made only in relatively recent years. No, during the centuries that immediately followed the Middle Ages, was it right to apply "off with the old and on with the new" to stained-glass windows? Progress means off with the old, only if the old is undesirable, and on with the new is better, and at times the new must be a great deal better than the old for the change to constitute progress. But we shall talk about this some other time.

As I was saying, when we toss words and phrases around without understanding them, we are not being very rational. We are not doing justice to our own mental powers. Nearly all of us use language in this way at times, but we must fight the habit. I believe that the effort will be well rewarded and will give us a great deal of satisfaction.

The list of words bandied around without a clear idea of their meaning is almost endless. "Undemocratic," "antisocial," "free," "the masses," — we could go on and on. During the coming weeks you and I will take some of these words and study them together and see whether we cannot get a clearer idea of what they mean.

OCTOBER 10, 1958



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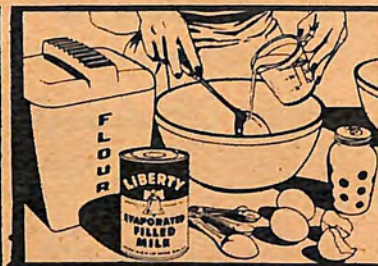


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GENERAL MILK CO. (Phil.), INC.

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early newspaper
 an account of an 11-year-old boy who, for no apparent reason, cold-bloodedly shot to death his father and his mother, a brother and a sister and several persons, with an old-fashioned man-sized hunting rifle.

How a kid his size could have manipulated the weapon is no more startling than the fact that he had used it — and against so many people.

Since then, and even before that gruesome incident, there have been countless juveniles — mere boys (and girls) not quite grown out of adolescence—figuring in similar violent criminal cases. Their offenses range from the more serious crime of murder to petty but destructive vandalism.

It appears from the above case, and other parallel delinquencies, that criminal potentiality in the young is a matter of spurious development springing from a repressed neurosis, perhaps, or from long-standing mental unbalance. No delinquent, not even the confirmed recidivist, gets involved in crime merely for its sheer pleasure.

The actuations of the 11-year-old killer, for instance, can only be interpreted in the light of his emotional and mental aberrations, predisposing causes of which are traceable to certain traumatic upheavals during his earlier years. If only these had been carefully noted and promptly remedied during the process of growing up, he may never have been goaded to the bloody deed.

FORTUNATELY it is now possible for every parent and teacher to find out years in advance whether or not a child is likely to become a juvenile delinquent. A remarkable study of 5,299 children by the New York

State Youth Commission has brought out warning signals of future mal-adjustment and possible delinquency in any child by the time he reaches the age of seven.

Listed below are the behavior symptoms in the delinquency-prone youngster as evolved from the delinquency-prediction table used successfully by the New York Youth Commission in its mass study of New York school children:

1. *Aggressive.* Under this heading come frequent temper tantrums, long periods of surliness and persistent lying. Also hostility against parents, teachers and playmates, habitual use of bad language, destructive behavior at home, in the neighborhood or at school. The aggressive child is impatient, unable to settle down to any activity for long. He craves adventure.

2. *Withdrawn.* This is characteristic of the day-dreamer, the oddly quiet child who consistently plays by himself or merely idles away his time. Unnaturally polite for his age, he may appear to be a "model child" and yet lapses into occasional sudden bursts of temper. He is likely to be sulky at times, un-

willing to talk over his troubles with his parents. Both the aggressive child possess some other nervous habit such as bedwetting, nail-biting, etc.

3. *Exaggerated suspicion* of friendliness or kindness shown him by other children and adults.

4. *Unpopularity* with class-



Is your child headed for trouble?

by Soledad H. Leynes

No child is ever born bad, but in the process of growing up he may acquire and develop certain undesirable traits that build up into delinquency

Mothers...



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October 17, 1958

Let's Reflect a Little

as broadcast over DZWS

by Manuel Quezon

I THOUGHT we might use our time just trying to answer this question: When is a man most truly free? To begin with, I would like to bring up the words of a wise man many centuries ago. He said that to do wrong is a sign of freedom, but only in the sense that sickness is a sign of life. Now, what do you suppose he meant by that? I would say he meant this: for you to do wrong, you have to be free, just as for you to be sick you have to be alive. If you are dead, you are not sick, you cannot get sick, you are just dead. So, if you are sick, it is a sure sign that you are alive.

In the case of freedom, we have the same situation. If you are not free, you cannot do wrong. Take the example of a brick. If a brick is dislodged from a building and falls on a pedestrian's head, no one says the brick did wrong. It cannot do wrong, because it is not free. Or take an earthquake, even if it should wipe out an entire city and every one in it, the quake does no wrong. It does harm, but not wrong, because it is not free.

Now, take a man who deliberately and out of pure spite hurts someone's feelings. He does wrong, because he is free. Notice the difference. In the examples we gave of non-free courses the amount of harm done, objectively speaking, is very much greater — a cracked skull and vast human misery, as against hurt feelings, but we cannot blame the brick or the quake, at least not in the sense that we can blame the man. The whole difference lies in the nature of the cause of the harm, in the first two cases not free, in the last, free. To do wrong, therefore, is a sign of freedom.

But it is only a sign. It is not part of freedom as such. Let us get back to our parallelism between sickness and wrong-doing. Today, thank God, medical science constantly turns out new inoculations against all sorts of diseases. Now, let us suppose that a time were to come when a man could be inoculated against every disease, so that he could not get sick. Would he be less alive? Biologically speaking, he would be enjoying the fullness of



life. Sickness, therefore, is more accurately a sign of defective, imperfect life, rather than of life as such. In fact, the greater the disease, the less life, until the disease progresses to the point where it destroys life altogether. So the best proof of life is normal, perfect functioning of the living being.

To do wrong is the disease of freedom. When a man does wrong, he merely proves that human freedom is imperfect — we can use it to choose evil rather than good. But imperfection does not constitute the essence of a thing. We do not say that a knife is an instrument that cuts poorly, or that a camera is a mechanism for taking blurred photographs. Or better still, we do not say that John's camera is better than Peter's, because John takes bad photographs as well as good.

If I use my freedom to do wrong, I am like the knife which cuts poorly or the camera which takes poor pictures. I am not doing the job well. I am most truly free when I use my freedom to choose the good, because that is when my will works unhindered by the imperfections, the disease, of wrong.

You may well ask: when precisely does the will choose the right and when does it choose the wrong? We shall talk about that later.

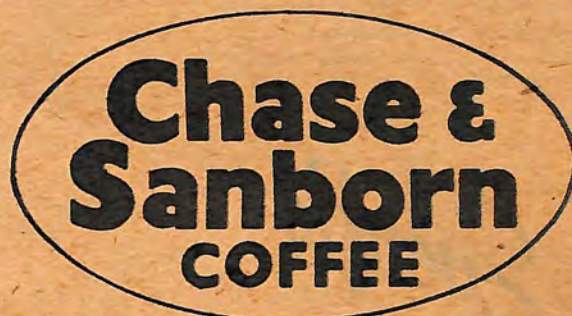
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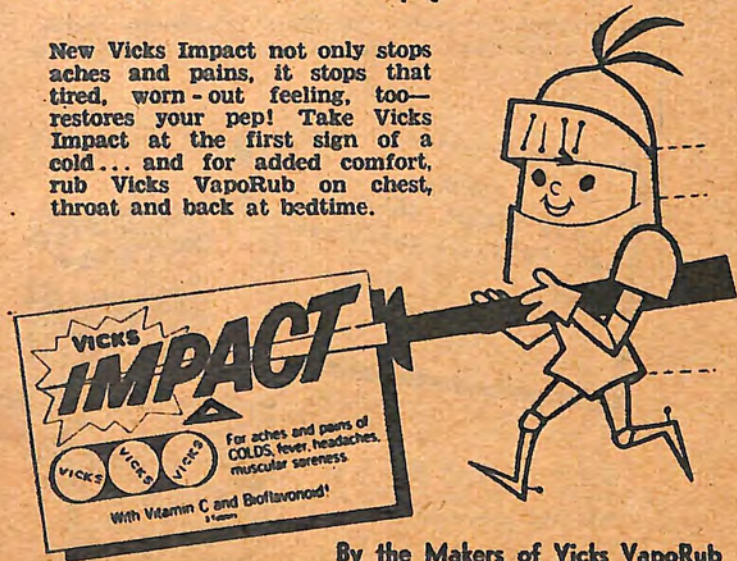
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By the Makers of Vicks VapoRub

FORMULA: Each adult tablet contains: Salicylic Acid 0.25 gm., Phenacetin 0.10 gm., Caffeine 15 mg., Vitamin C 20 mg., Magnesium Oxide 20 mg.



MISS KAFRAWI makes notes as four-year-old boys and girls climb a metal arc climber devised by the Vassar College Laboratory Nursery School, where Miss Kafrawi is a student in child study. At the right is a tubular ladder, which may be used instead of the inclined ladder at the left. This equipment is easy to duplicate in bamboo.

The Modern Nursery School

*in the United States is something after which we should
pattern our own children's institutions of learning*

Protecting and promoting the child's physical and emotional

*health should be
a chief objective
along with education*



PLAYING with dolls is a major activity for girls in nursery schools. Here are two little pupils at the Beauvoir Nursery School feeding a doll. At the right, ready to give the doll a spoon of imaginary cereal, is Zailah Binte Ismail, daughter of the Malayan Ambassador to the U.S.

NURSERY SCHOOLS in the United States (for children from 2 1/2 to 5 years) are especially adapted to the needs of the young child and offer him an opportunity to play and learn with others of his own age under trained supervision.

The nursery school program provides a gradual introduction to responsibility and preparation for academic activity. The child's keen in-

Let's Reflect a Little

October 24, 1958

as broadcast over DZWS



by Manuel Quezon

WE ENDED last week's chat with a question: "What precisely does the will choose the right and when does it choose the wrong?" I had hoped we could work out an answer this week, but the answer will have to wait: the recent observance of National Heroes' Day demands our attention. The past events we commemorate have a significance for the present. When we Filipinos think of the heroic past, we ought to engage in a little self-examination. What am I doing to make our country the great country our forebears lived and died to forge? What am I doing to make our democracy an ever greater success? Well, first of all, what is democracy? We hear many definitions of democracy. This is due in large part to viewing democracy from different angles. Democracy, like all great ideals, cannot be grasped with a single concept. It is like a majestic mountain — a view of one side of the mountain does not give us a complete picture. It is only often that we have gone all around the mountain, seeing it from all directions, that we know how it looks. And even then, when we see all the mountain later, we can visualize only one view of it at a time. I would like to dwell briefly on a single aspect of democracy, the cooperative spirit that is indispensable to its success.

We are all familiar with the traditional division of the forms of government into rule by one, rule by a few, and rule by the many. The last is what we call democracy. It differs from other forms of government in a number of ways. Let us recall just one characteristic of genuine democracy, its tendency to allow its citizens as much legal freedom as is compatible with the good of all, thus keeping coercive measures to a minimum. This policy leaves the well-being, the progress, and even the very existence of the state very largely at the mercy of private initiative.

When the people lack the cooperative spirit, events take the following course: the stronger elements of the population, the powerful personalities, those with drive, the vested interests, we might say, those with dynamic initiative—these get ahead, which is good, but to the detriment of others, which is bad. The weaker elements of the population—the timid, the unintelligent, the uneducated, the poor — are all left behind, or metaphorically trampled under the onward rush of the successful. Pride and conceit and an overbearing attitude characterize the successful, while an atmosphere of gloom, and even despair, surrounds the rest. The social forces are centrifugal rather than centripetal. Society tends to break apart, driven apart by the egoistic tendencies of men. Government must then resort to more and more restrictive measures to preserve the unity of society. This contradicts the democratic aims of maximum freedom and minimum coercion. The democratic spirit is imperiled—and may be totally destroyed.

The cooperative spirit is, therefore, absolutely necessary to avoid or remedy such a state of affairs. More than a feeling, it is a surging, almost compulsive, conviction that our democracy is the personal interest of each one of us, individually and of all of us together. I say that it is a conviction because it must be based not on sentiment or emotion, but on solid reasons. This is not the opportune moment to enumerate or discuss those reasons, among others—reasons derived from the nature of man and society.

We shall limit ourselves to the reason why the spirit of cooperation is vital.

We citizens are all equal before the law. We have the same patriotic end in view—to make our Philippines a country where free men and women can live an abundant life with decency, honor and security under God. We want a country with a well educated citizenry second to none. We want a society which an individual's possibilities for self-improvement will be limited only by the quality of his own abilities, a society in which freedom will be given a maximum field of action and license a minimum of toleration.

Legislation alone cannot give us these things. Remember, in a democracy, as much as possible the citizens should be the source of social movements. To expect everything from the government is to weaken democracy.

We must realize that each one of us has an important role to play in the development of our democratic national life. We must realize that all of us are striving in the whole national community, all building towards the same goals. The strong must moderate their activity so as to contribute what they can towards the same end. This undoubtedly calls for sacrifice on many occasions, but that is where the spirit of cooperation comes in. If we look upon ourselves as working together towards the same goal, we shall be willing to make those sacrifices. The intimate conviction that the good of all at times demands sacrifice from some will save us from the disastrous economic liberalism of the nineteenth century. The spontaneity of cooperative activity will save us from excessive legal restrictions which threaten democracy.

The surging spirit of cooperation will cause us to put into practice the conviction that the good of all is the good of each—and the good of each is the good of all.



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WE MUST REMEMBER THAT TO A CHILD DISAPPOINTMENTS
ARE SO MUCH MORE BITTER, HAPPINESS SO MUCH MORE INTENSE

Growing up can be difficult

*Life always seems to be full of problems and frustrations to the adolescent,
and a parent's intelligent sympathy
and her patience are very important during this awkward age*

I ONCE ASKED ten of my younger friends (all under twenty-five) if they would like to have their childhood over again, and with one exception they all (though with differing emphasis) said "No." Those I questioned were of both sexes and varying ages. Many of them had had delightful homes, though others had not been so fortunate, but although some of them would have liked to have their nursery days over again, only one was prepared to go once more through the whole experience of growing up.

It was a young minister who put the matter most emphatically. He had, as I knew, had an excellent mother to whom he was devoted, a father whom he liked and respected, and several brothers and sisters for whom he had a warm affection, but he said that the thought of going through his boyhood again filled him with horror. "It isn't" he explained, "so much the people you are with who make life difficult while you are growing up, it is you yourself." I pointed out that he had been, as far as I could remember, a very nice little boy, a little too sensitive perhaps, physically not particularly brave, but morally rather above the average in his desire to do the right thing, and I was sure that everybody had always liked him.

My praise, however, did nothing to alter his view that, even though other people had generally liked him, there were far too many occasions when he hadn't liked himself. The other young people who were present when I posed this question, though differing in the intensity of their objection to reliving their childhood, were very clear that, since schooldays (particularly the seven-to-eighteen-year period) were essentially a time of trial and error, there must of necessity be a lack of that poise and assurance, in the absence of which life can be far too full of pricks to be at all comfortable. There is so much to be learned in those early years, particularly control of emotions, whether it be the too easy tears or the too raucous laughter, the tendency to sulk or the desire to hit out at everybody in sight.

Properly guided and helped, control will be acquired in time, but to the sensitive child each failure may well cause much more annoyance and shame to himself than it does even to his parents—though, being sensitive, he would not dream

of admitting such a thing. Then there is the ever present fear of being laughed at for doing the wrong thing, which constantly hurts the sensitive child. Anyone who has anything to do with animals knows that one must never laugh at them, yet there are people, who may pride themselves on their management of their dogs or cats, who will often laugh without disguise at a child's (possibly ludicrous) efforts to copy some adult procedure—and by so doing will produce in him an agony of suppressed humiliation.

Very few of us, moreover, are as patient as we might be with the manifold failures of our children as they slowly, and with many setbacks, stumble their way towards good manners, thoughtful

by Anne Cuthbert

ness, truth honesty, physical and moral courage and the various other virtues which, by the time they are six or seven years old, they are dimly beginning to realize are desirable qualities which they would rather like to possess. But what we fail to realize is that the child's impatience at his failures may be quite as keen as ours, though hidden under a "don't care" attitude.

During the first six or seven years of life most children do not worry at all about such matters and, if the home is well managed, the child's health good and the parents skilful, they should be more often happy than not. Naturally there will be occasional storms and tears, but, properly dealt with, they are soon over and soon forgotten.

Life is more complicated

AFTER the sixth birthday has been passed, however, life begins to be much more complicated, which is one of the reasons why mother is still so important. Now, however, the role she has to play is rather different from what it was in the earlier years. Then she needed to be always in touch, constantly, even if unobtrusively, on the

watch to guide her little son or daughter along the right path, to explain why some things are right and some wrong—and to ensure by her presence that they feel secure and happy. Once they have outgrown this stage, however, she merely needs to be always available if wanted, rather than always present. And it is now that suggestions begin to be so much more valuable than reproof, and comfort more necessary than punishment. This presupposes, of course, that the happy, carefree early years have established in the child's mind the general view that Mama and Papa really want to help one to be good—and that goodness itself is, on the whole, a desirable end, if it doesn't interfere too drastically with one's enjoyment.

The growth of conscience in a child is a very slow affair and can be very painful. For gradually, in a well-run, happy home, he will begin to understand that so many of the things he wants are considered undesirable by his parents and teachers and he must be forever choosing between doing what is frowned upon, if not actually forbidden, and (as a consequence) feeling uncomfortable inside, or else refraining from doing something undesirable and feeling thoroughly frustrated—though rather virtuous.

It seems a little unfair that the boys and the girls who most desire to do right are less likely to have happy memories of childhood than are their lighter-hearted brothers or sisters who take a less conscientious view of life. They, however, may well in their turn be more concerned with their social failures, which can be so very tragic to those who long to shine, but cannot quite manage to do so.

How can parents help?

FOR parents the important question to consider is how their maddening but much-loved offspring can best be helped over this difficult period. For help is what they need, even if they don't always realize it themselves. Children of all ages must of course be told when they have been deliberately naughty or careless, or even merely foolish, but there are better ways of bringing home to them, as they grow older, the undesirability of their conduct than by punishment, or even by re-

October 31, 1958



THE DESTRUCTION caused in our country by World War II and our failure thus far to get firmly on our feet economically have focused our attention on the problem of unemployment and wages as never before. Just now the President and Congress are looking for ways to control the skyrocketing prices, even of essential products like food. The danger is mainly that those in the low-income brackets will be unable to buy what they need. As things stand, many barely manage to keep body and soul together with what they earn, to say nothing of the millions who do not earn at all—the unemployed. History teaches us that when such a state of affairs continues for a long time, society is rocked to its foundations. We all have reason to worry about the present and the future. We can not close our eyes to the sufferings which inadequate wages cause so many people. All too many do not have enough to eat. They live in hovels and are inadequately clothed. When they get sick, they cannot get proper medical attention.

To solve this difficulty some would make a mathematical computation of what the wage earner should get. They assign so much for food, so much for clothing, so much for housing, so much for medicine. Well, first of all, conditions sometimes make it impossible to pay even the resulting sum. But even when it is possible to pay a salary enough for all of a man's bodily needs and those of his family, that salary is not enough. Does this sound paradoxical? It should not—"Not by bread alone does man live."

Remember that man is a rational animal. When you provide a man with his bodily needs, you are only supplying him with part (the less important part) of his needs. Man has a right to a human life, and a human life, as distinguished from the life of the brutes, has to give the place of honor to things of the mind. A man must be able to give some satisfaction to his unquenchable thirst for knowledge. He must have time to devote to the contemplation of beauty—the fine arts. He must have time to devote to social interchange with other human beings, so that from the mutual exchange of ideas his mental powers may be stretched and perfected. He must have ample time for his religious duties. For all these and more, a man must have more than a mere subsistence wage, so that he will have the indispensable leisure time.

If then you give a man just what he needs to live and keep his family alive, if you make him work so much that he has no time or energy left for anything else, you are frustrating human nature itself. You are treating man like a brute beast.

We have to beware, therefore, of a state of affairs in which so many of our fellow humans are living a life barely above that of the brutes. We have to work towards the goal—even though it be a long-range goal—of a truly human life for all. We must do so not only to avoid physical suffering and the danger of unrest and violence. We have to do it so as not to deprive man of the life of the mind, that life which in the order of nature is like the life of God.

Let's Reflect a Little

by

Manuel Quezon

as broadcast over DZWS

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Q. Can you be sure of daintiness — when you dance?

A. Yes! Arrid Cream Deodorant applied in the morning keeps underarms sweet and dry right through the evening! Even when you dance fast, modern tempos, you stay fragrant, alluring when you use Arrid!



Q. Is there a sure way to prevent perspiration stains?

A. Yes! Arrid Cream Deodorant, used daily, stops perspiration — prevents stains and saves your pretty dresses from wear!

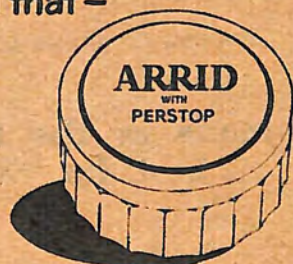


Q. Isn't a daily bath enough protection?

A. Yes! — when you use Arrid Cream Deodorant after your bath. Creamy-soft Arrid is the sure way to avoid underarm perspiration the whole day!

Girls who know the answers use Arrid,
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- Stops odor and perspiration
- Prevents staining clothes
- Keeps you fresh and dainty all day



L. D. SEYMOUR & CO. (MANILA) INC.
Manufacturer's Representative



by Florence Jane Soman

"ISN'T he a divine specimen of manhood?" Francie said. Susan, fair-haired and pretty, looked up from her desk and across the office to where Joe Sanders was standing talking to Mr. Wilson, the head of the Production Department.

As usual, at the sight of Joe her eyes went dark and she heaved a sigh.

"Very nice," she said. One didn't pour out one's secret hopes and dreams to a seventeen-year-old filing clerk like Francie.

"You're in love with him; aren't you?" Francie said.

Susan colored, refusing to feast her eyes further on Joe while Francie looked on. "Don't be silly. I—"

"Of course you are," Francie said

LETTERS LETTERS

August 3, 1966

your magazine can publish chess problems.

Mr. and Mrs. Wilfredo Chua
Malangas, Zamboanga del Sur

DESIGN ENTHUSIAST

Avante-Garde But Modest (WG, June 22), by dress designer Rikki Jimenez was one of the best designs featured in your magazine.

Let us have more of him and more power to your magazine.

Danilo de los Santos
Calasiao, Pangasinan

SUGGESTED AMENDMENTS

In connection with the article of Mr. Manuel L. Quezon, Jr. on possible amendments to the Constitution (WG, May 25), I have the following suggestions to offer:

1) The composition of Congress should be maintained, but the terms of office for congressmen, provincial board members, and city and municipal councilors should be three years, while those of the senators should be six years, with one half of them to be elected every three years.

2) The terms of office of the President, provincial governors, and city



...AND WALLS!

and municipal mayors should be six years without reelection.

A President eligible for reelection will be politicking while in office to insure his reelection. Ditto the governors and mayors.

Mr. Quezon proposes the ouster of the President after three years in case of failure and the selection by Congress of one to serve for the remaining three years. This will make the President use all his powers while in office to have his men elected to Congress, thus resulting in wholesale fraud, terrorism, vote-buying, etc., during that election. Who can be more powerful than the President if he knows that he is in danger of being ousted as a result of the election?

I would like to propose further that the amendment of the Constitution shall be done by delegates to a constitutional

August 3, 1966



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as they say?

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LETTERS LETTERS

convention elected by the people during the elections of 1967. The delegates shall be two from every representative district. All persons including teachers, government employees, etc., shall be allowed to run for delegates without being considered resigned from the present offices upon filing their candidacies if they are government employees.

There is a great danger of our congressmen and senators proposing the amendments, for the simple reason that they will possibly do it only to suit their own conveniences.

Usualdo F. Laguitan
Ex-City Councilor
Ormoc City

CEBU'S PRIDE

We would like to call your attention to your mistake in connection with your publication of a photo of candidates for Binibining Pilipinas (WG, July 6).



In the line up of the picture, in the extreme right, you mistakenly placed the name of Connie Gonzales when it should be Sally de los Reyes representing Cebu. Miss De los Reyes is a doctor of optometry and was topnotcher in the recent board examinations. She is the manager of the De los Reyes Optical and Music Supply of this city.

Dr. Emma Ybañez, O.D.
29-31 P. Gullas st., Corner Balintawak
Cebu City

BRILLIANT, BUT UNAPPRECIATED

Thank you for your coverage of the Manila Film Festival (WG, July 6). To Mayor Antonio J. Villegas: Yeba!

I have observed that nobody among the WG readers whose letters are published seems to notice the brilliance of the column of C. Prigo (Top Of The Week). By the way, is C. Prigo a he or a she? Whatever it is, he is such a bright and talented writer. How about printing a write-up about him?

La Rainne' Garcia
616 Mabini Extension
Cabanatuan City

(C. Prigo is a he. He is a well-known writer [addicted to physical culture] slaving in a government office that cannot appreciate the brand of his humor and wit; hence the pseudonym.—Ed.)

INSULTING IMAGE

The producers of the picture Manang Biday have insulted Ilocanos. The

LETTERS LETTERS

Dec 21 1966

tribute that Asians can produce jurists who are on the same level as Occidentals.

RAFAEL L. PEÑA
Far Eastern University
Manila

GRAPHIC ADDICT

I want to honestly convey my appreciation of and interest in GRAPHIC. Allow me to tell you that I am a pre-war lover of the pre-war GRAPHIC.

Although the new GRAPHIC is in different format and in new hands, I still enjoy reading it not only because of its immense coverage of important issues and events but also because of its Students' Literary Contest, Fiction, and Poetry.

PERFECTO B. CATAN
Tanauan, Leyte

ABOUT MLQ, JR.

Were the parents of Manuel L. Quezon, Jr., still alive, they would have been very proud of him. When any of his articles appears in GRAPHIC, I turn to it first. I get disappointed when I don't find an article by him.

I would be very happy if an article about him would be published. What is his calling? Educational attainment? Why is he single until now? Has he not yet met his ideal girl? What are the qualities he wants his ideal girl to have?

SEVERA ASUNCION
Cebu City

OBSSESSED

The article of Rev. Fr. Francisco Araneta, S.J., entitled Love under your God And Man column (GRAPHIC, Oct. 19) has kept me thinking.

I would appreciate it very much if you could publish this letter in your magazine to let Fr. Araneta know that I am very interested in knowing where and how to get in touch with him.

I do enjoy reading your magazine - it's my favorite weekly. Kudos to the entire staff!

ROSEMARY PEÑALOSA
College of Commerce and
Business Administration
University of Santo Tomas
Manila

WHO'S BEING USED?

I write to inform Mr. Reynaldo B. Fua of San Jose, Samar, that what he saw on the picture about the Philcag (GRAPHIC, Sept. 21, p. 14) shows that the Filipinos are using American tools, not that we are being used as tools of American interests.

ANTONIO SAN JOSE
25 San Jose
Morong.

WIDOW'S CLAIM IGNORED

I am the widow of the late Nicomedes Juanga, a deceased USAFFE soldier. For many years now my claim for gratuity benefits has been pending payment in the Philippine Veterans Administration, Veterans Memorial Bldg., Arroceros st., Manila.

I wrote to the PVA, Manila about 10 long months ago, but until now I have not received any reply, in spite of the fact that I knew the PVA received my letter because it was sent through the

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100 years in the service
of Nutrition throughout
the world

MILKMAID...certainly worth the difference in price

A part of the Filipino home for over 50 years

be induced to come to the Philippines. Reciprocal tax concessions between the two countries will go far toward attracting fresh Swiss capital investments for Philippine enterprises.

It should be interesting to our people to know that Swiss-Philippine unions have been generally happy and fruitful whether living in the Philippines or in Switzerland. While in the Philippines the case of Col. Hans Menzi is well known, it is not as well known either in Switzerland or the Philippines that the Postmaster-General of Switzerland, Dr. Vicente Tuason, is a Filipino descendant. His father had come to study here but having met a girl, whom he later married, he settled down in his wife's homeland. Besides Dr. Tuason, there is a daughter borne of that union, who is a well-known star on the local stage.

Tagalog-Speaking

There are other unions in Switzerland or products thereof. The former Rosita Rivera of the early Philippine films is now a grandmother living in retirement in this country with her husband, Mr. Frederick Schaer, whom some will remember as the owner of the popular Astoria restaurant on the Escolta during prewar days, famous for its confectioneries. They had met in Hongkong while Mr. Schaer was chef de cuisine of the old Hongkong hotel. They have children and grandchildren in Switzerland and Manila. It is remarkable that the children speak Tagalog as often and well as they speak English and Swiss.

This continuing and widening intercourse goes on. One of my early pleasant duties in Berne was to attend the wedding of a young Filipino lawyer, who, while taking his doctorate in Madrid, met a Swiss girl in the Swiss Embassy of that city. They came to get married early this year in the girl's home city. The groom is the son of Congressman Castillo of Bohol. With more young people coming to this country to study, more and more are falling in love with Swiss girls and are following the precedent set by the elder Tuason.

Is Philippine attachment to Switzerland due to Rizal, to whom I credit the early beginnings of Philippine-Swiss relationship? We cannot be too precise but there are certain significant happenings that make it look so. Consider these facts:

Rizal came here and stayed in Switzerland during May and June in 1887 in the company of Dr. Maximo Viola. Apparently they were merely tourists but they certainly observed carefully, recording almost every detail of their impressions and experiences. He visited Schaffhausen to where he crossed the Rhine from Germany below the scenic falls, staying at the Hotel Muller in that city; Basel, staying in the Alte Bayrische Bierhalle (a hotel-restaurant and beer hall); Berne, staying at the Schweizerhof Hotel; and in Geneva, where he passed his 26th birthday.

While certainly Rizal must have thought of the possibility of death at a not-too-distant future while enjoying Swiss hospitality, perhaps even a heroic death, could anybody have even dreamed then that it would take a Swiss to make the first and best revered monument to his memory? But that's what happened. And so, that is another thread that was woven into the mystic design that has guided the spontaneous development of Philippine-Swiss relations.

When a committee was organized in Manila in 1905 to set up the first national monument to Rizal, largely inspired by the well-known publicist, Don Pascual Poblete, it was decided that an

Bonds of friendship



GEMMA IN SWITZERLAND

Gemma Cruz Araneta with Swiss Philippine couples, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Wettstein, nee Mila Montenegro of Dumaguete City, left, and Mr. and Mrs. Jean Mairret, nee Betty Mateos of Manila. Photo was taken during Gemma's recent Swiss tour.



SWISS-PHILIPPINE BUSINESSMEN

Swiss business interests in the Philippines are manifested by Dr. Zuellig (now a Filipino citizen) of Zuellig and Co., Dr. Luk Keller of Ed. A. Keller and Co., and Ernest Pfenninger, formerly of Menzi and Co., now honorary Philippine consul in Zurich. Lady is Mrs. Theodore Seiler, gen. manager's wife.



SPECIAL RELATIONS

Dr. Vicente Tuason, center, postmaster general of Switzerland, is shown with Ambassador Modesto Farolan (right) and Mr. and Mrs. F. Schaer (left). Mrs. Schaer is the former Rosita Rivera of Filipino movies and Mr. Schaer owned the plush prewar Astoria restaurant, located on Escolta, Manila.

international competition was the best means of producing an appropriate design. This competition was won by an Italian artist but when the contract for the job of making the monument came, he failed to meet the guarantee requirements. The committee, therefore, called upon the winner of the second prize, Dr. Richard Kissling, a well-known sculptor of Zurich, who had already gained fame in designing and building such well-known Swiss monuments as the William Tell, Fontana and Vadian, and the Escher Fountain, to undertake the job. Kissling accepted the commission.

As at that time, Kissling was already advanced in years, he enlisted the assistance of another well-known sculptor, by the name of Pessina, of Ligornetto, of Canton Tessin, in Italian Switzerland, with his own pupil and understudy, R. Wening, working with Pessina. Wening is a distinguished sculptor also now advancing in years but still active and prospering in his own specialty, animal sculpture. He is making a trip to Africa for this purpose this January. He was the source of all this information as Dr. Kissling passed away in 1926 or 1927.

It is obvious that Kissling, whose creation is still the best interpretation of and tribute to Rizal in stone and bronze, is not just an ordinary artist. He had studied art and married in Rome. His doctorate, honoris causa, was conferred by the University of Zurich in recognition of his achievements. He was also given the honorary citizenship of Zurich, having been born in Wolfwil in the Canton of Solothurn on April 15, 1948. He had one daughter Stella. His granddaughter, Mme. Jacques Brocher-Koller lives in Chemin Bryon, Geneva.

"Stella"

The Kissling design and model was entered in the Rizal competition under the nom de plume of "Stella," which is the name of his only daughter. He received the order for the job through the Swiss consul in Manila, Mr. Sprungli. The execution of the full-size statue and other sculptural details, as they appear today on the monument in Manila, was done in 1911-12, with Pessina modeling the figures and a J. Grau doing the plaster cast. The casting in bronze was entrusted to the Fonderie d'Art in Paris. The stone used for the base and the obelisk or shaft of the monument is the far-famed Gotthard granite quarried in Wassen, Canton of Uri. The obelisk was originally one whole solid piece of granite but it was so heavy no shipping company could handle it, so it had to be cut into three parts.

The monument was finally accepted by a Philippine commission especially sent for the purpose and it was shipped to Manila in 1913. Due to initial difficulties with the ground set aside for its erection, following inspection by Wening, Kissling's assistant, who went to Manila to supervise construction, and later on because World War I broke out soon after the monument reached Manila, actual construction and unveiling did not take place until after the end of the war.

That's how by the mysterious intervention of events Rizal had helped to open the way for and make possible close Swiss-Philippine relationship. The national hero had come to Switzerland to find inspiration and Swiss artists had turned into a beautiful and much revered monument now standing on Philippine soil an admiring understanding and high concept of Rizal's great ideals and patriotic life. What happy coincidences indeed!—#

MAN

SCIENTIST or HUMANIST?

by MANUEL L. QUEZON, Jr.

● IF THE question were asked, "What distinguishes contemporary civilization from every civilization which preceded it?" and the answer had to be given in a single word, I believe the answer would be "machines," or, to use a broader term, "technology," "physical science." Not, of course, that there was a total absence of anything that could be called a machine in times past. The steam locomotive and the steamship have been with us a good many years, the Roman ballista or catapult for hurling stones at the enemy was in essence a cannon, and even the primitive water-wheel used for irrigation can lay claim to being some sort of machine. But the all-pervading presence and use of machines is something distinctively contemporary.

Modern life depends on machines to a degree impossible 50 years earlier and unthinkable a century ago. The recent power failure in the Northeastern section of the United States practically brought life to a standstill for many hours and showed how easily modern man can be crippled, at least temporarily, by the failure of a single technological invention in the vast power network of a highly industrialized area.

Our sustenance depends increasingly on machines — starvation has been ward off from millions in India and other countries by the surplus wheat of the United States, produced by the use of machines. Our health depends on machines — medicines, ranging from the lowly aspirin to the proud wide-spectrum antibiotic, are produced by machines. Our movement depends on machines — from the jeepney and automobile to the jet to the space vehicle to the apartment dweller's elevator. Except for short distances, no one is willing to walk, unless out of unavoidable necessity or for relaxation or exercise, and some forms of exercise are now done with the help of machines — take the much advertised relaxizer or the electric horse for losing weight.

Our enjoyment depends more and more on machines — we see motion pictures produced and projected by machines in a theater air-conditioned by machines, and possibly, as we watch, we eat candy gotten from a vending machine. Some people even use mechanical toothbrushes. It would be an entertaining pastime, if we had nothing better to do, to imagine one day's existence, if every modern machine and

every product of a modern machine were suddenly to disappear. Only a member of the most backward tribe in the most inaccessible part of the earth knows the experience.

The term "Machine Age" is a very apt one indeed to describe our times. Were it not for the dramatic military use to which atomic power has so lamentably been put, with its threat of human annihilation, we might not even think of calling this the Atomic Age. We would look on nuclear fission as another means to power machines, as did pre-World War II textbooks of chemistry and physics. We do everything by means of machines. We have reached the point where machines run other machines — automation — and we talk of "thinking" machines — the computers — grossly misunderstanding and abusing the word "think."

The Machine Age

This then is the Machine Age, or the Age of Technology, or the Age of Physical Science, as you may wish. It is also the age of the emancipation of colonial peoples, the age of modern art — whatever that may mean to those qualified to judge — it is the age of freedom; this with more than a grain of salt — but it is THE MACHINE AGE, with a vengeance. And therein lies a threat to humanity which would not disappear even if, by some undeserved mercy of God, the very notion of atomic destruction were to vanish irretrievably from the mind of every man, woman, and child on this earth.

What is the effect of the machine on men? Only an insane man would deny the uncounted benefits of modern technology. There are precious few who advocate a return to the jungle, and I doubt whether any would persist in their advocacy if they were asked to do it first. The most ingrained humanist, the educator, the man of letters, the artist, the philosopher, the theologian — all are indebted to modern technology and would be most ungrateful not to acknowledge the debt.

The tremendous spread of knowledge has been made possible by the cheap mass production of all sorts of printed materials, which in turn are rapidly distributed all over the world. More progressive methods of education are possible because of scientific inventions such as educational television and tape

recorders. The fight against illiteracy is being pushed ahead, and meanwhile, transistors supply the defect by providing the means for mass dissemination of information to otherwise isolated villages. Swift transportation enables peoples widely separated by distance and customs to meet, with a resulting growth in mutual understanding and lessening of tensions. The means for spreading education and culture all over the world are at hand, thanks to technology.

It is incumbent upon modern man to give every encouragement to science and technology, to its progress and ever-widening use. In fact, his survival largely depends upon it. Human society and its individual members must further scientific advance. Insofar as we fail to do so, especially we Filipinos in this country of ours which can profit so much from technology, we shall bear the burden of guilt and we shall answer for it to history.

Which is very far from saying that science, technology, the machine ought to have the highest place of honor in the temple of modern civilization. Science does in fact sit a God over our destinies — we have allowed it to do so through our own fault. Modern man has been so impressed by the achievements of science that he has forgotten one basic fact — that modern science is a tool, just as the first stick used to bury a seed was a tool, meant to serve him and comfort him, not turn into a monster in whose presence he alternately dances and cowers. More, he is in danger of turning into a machine himself.

The Danger

The Bible tells us that God made man in His image and likeness. Man is in danger of remaking himself in the image and likeness of his machines. There is a Spanish proverb which runs: dime quien andas y te dire quien eres — tell me the company you keep and I shall tell you what sort of man you are. Modern man's inseparable companion is the machine, and the Spanish proverb is in ever greater danger of being applicable to the situation. We demand more and more technology, more and more science, and we are right, but we must be aware and must beware of the danger.

The Nazi scientists were just about

as scientific and technologically perfect as men could be at the time. Humanity was treated to the hideous spectacle of those same scientists using captured Allied flyers for tests on the effect of explosive decompression on the eardrums — the flyers' eardrums burst and they suffered torture, which was all observed, photographed, and duly noted with the same detachment with which you or I might read a room thermometer. Human flesh, if reports are to be believed, was turned into soap, just as horses are turned into glue.

A human being, if given a purely "scientific" mentality — I put the word in quotation marks, for this is not true science — can be as efficient and impartial as a machine. A meat grinder will, with equal efficiency, grind pork, beef, chicken and, if you put it in the right, that is, the wrong place, your hand with the same unfeeling impartiality; and a dehumanized man will, with the same efficiency and impartiality, wipe out weeds, insects, and men if and when his "scientific" mind so decides (again I put the word in quotes). In the words of the French philosopher Jacques Maritain, "Modern man placed his hope in machines, in technique, and in mechanical and industrial civilization — without wisdom to dominate them and put them at the service of human good and freedom, for he expected freedom from the development of external techniques themselves, not from any ascetic effort toward the internal possession of self. And how can one who does not possess the standards of human life, which are metaphysical, apply them to our use of the machine? The law of the machine, which is the law of matter, will apply itself to him, and enslave him."

Man feels that he is almost in control of the universe. Perhaps he is. But, what is more important, he is not in control of himself. Technology holds a vast potential for good or for evil, and because in itself this potential is indifferent or neutral, and because man is not in control of himself, the second alternative is all too often chosen. Thus, nuclear power, which should be lighting our cities, is instead poised to destroy them. Thus, knowledge of bacteria is used not only to destroy them, but to control or destroy people by means of bacteria. Thus, mass media are used to degrade rather than elevate men, to per-





a public scandal. He can produce new paints for a painter, he cannot, *purely and solely as a scientist*, tell the painter how to produce a masterpiece. He can tell us how to keep healthy, how to feel comfortable, he cannot tell us why we should keep healthy or why we are entitled to comfort. He cannot tell us how to be good or how to be happy or why.

Those fields in which the scientist as such is incompetent are the fields in which man as man, a rational, moral, esthetic, loving being, lives the life proper to himself, as distinct from and superior to the rest of visible Creation. How science can benefit mankind can be determined only by disciplines outside the realm of science. Goodness can be understood and inculcated only through religion and ethics. Art can be produced and improved only through the canons of art. Vast areas of truth are beyond the pale of physical science and can be explored and ascertained only through other means. It is only through the humanities that science can perform its true function, which is to help in the attainment of human self-fulfillment. The proper role of science, and therefore its highest achievement, can be attained only in the context of a truly humanist civilization, what Maritain calls *integral humanism*.

Emphasis On Humanities

Our Constitution imposes on the state the obligation to encourage and aid science *and* the humanities. Few of its provisions are wiser, and few are more sadly neglected. That the constitutional mandate has thus far been ineffectively implemented, despite the most strenuous efforts of our educators, is a standing reproach to our government. Attempts are more easily discerned in the line of the sciences, but in the humanities. . . With the accelerated growth of science and its impact on contemporary life, a growth undreamed of by the Fathers of the Constitution in 1934, the emphasis on the humanities cannot be delayed.

Our knowledge of the humanities must grow and be given every encouragement to do so. The place of the thinker, the historian, the artist must be secured in our esteem, which alone will make it secure in our society. We must get a firm grasp of *values*, of the proper place of different kinds of knowledge and endeavor, their interrelation and mutual subordination and their proper objectives, and this we can do only with the aid of the humanities. We must strengthen our faith in the value of man and the subordinate value of things, as intended to serve us, individually and collectively. Man rightly pins high hopes on science only when science is held in the grip of man, not man in the grip of science.

In the so-called advanced countries, technology has already outpaced the humanities, in some with disastrous results, in others with impending disaster, but massive and, we hope, ultimately successful exertions are being made to correct the imbalance. Here we are almost at the bare beginnings of both, quantitatively certainly, and also, to a lesser extent, qualitatively. It is within our power to achieve and maintain a balanced growth of the two. In our present economic and political plight it is easy to overlook the importance of both, but more especially of the humanities. We can ill afford to do so. We dare not.—#

We demand more and more technology, more and more science, and we are right. But we must be aware that this has some dangers, too

Simply that if we are to live meaningful lives, there are other disciplines which are of even greater importance than technology. We can build a more truly human life, in the best sense of the word, if we give its rightful due to the study of the *humanities*. The development of a technological civilization demands more, not less, appreciation of the humanities — arts, letters, politics, philosophy, religion, etc., and a more thorough grounding in them.

Science itself cannot tell us how it should be used. A scientist can tell us how to freeze a living human body, he cannot tell us, *purely and solely as a scientist*, whether or not it ought to be done. He can tell us how to transmit information, he cannot tell us, *purely and solely as a scientist*, whether a private misdeed ought to be turned into

A brain-side view of inventors:

January 5, 1966

What makes an inventor tick?

by JESUS PEMPENGCO, JR.

● THE POPULAR image of an inventor is a man with disheveled long hair and unshaved beard. He is usually caricatured with a wrapped box containing his latest brainchild while patiently waiting at the reception room of a patent attorney.

My long association with local inventors as secretary and public relations officer of the Filipino Inventors Society Inc. has proved the contrary. During meetings, our local inventors are generally neat in their well-pressed Barong Tagalog or shirt and tie. Certainly none of that disheveled look. Their ages range from 25 to 65. Distinguishing them from ordinary people is a difficult task.

What makes our inventors different?

Inventors have some common characteristics. They have keen observation of necessities, patience in experimenting, creative minds, and jealous secrecy about their inventions.

Necessity is often the "mother of invention." Inventors easily become aware of necessities, whether they are the small daily necessities of everyone or the special necessities of a particular group. No inventor in his right mind will work on an invention that is not needed.

Unlimited Patience

A person who gives up an experiment after the first 10 or more failures cannot be an inventor. Rare are the inventions that succeed in such a small number of attempts. If an inventor cannot solve a problem frontally, he attacks it from underneath, from above, from behind, or laterally. When asked why he would not give up after so many failures in an experiment that did not give any positive answer, Edison replied that each failure was a negative answer that showed him what would not work. His technique was to ask Nature for the correct answer again and again through experiments until She gave herself away.

The experimental stage is the most difficult part, as any inventor will tell you. Usually inventors are rich only in ideas. Hence, it is very difficult for them to make experiments at their expense without sacrificing the family budget.

Creative thinking is inborn among inventors although it may be developed in almost everyone. This is the ability to create something new out of existing laws and principles unlike in judicial thinking which is merely deciding on what should be done according to laws and principles. Thus, a lawyer or a doctor studies a case to see what law or remedy should be applied and thereby makes use of judicial thinking to produce something new out of the principles he has studied.

There was a housewife who was faced with an ordinary household problem which she solved through creative thinking. Two families were living in their house and their two *lavanderas* frequently quarrel about the scanty water because they got their water for laundry

from the same faucet. If one of them allowed the other to fill up her big *banyera* first, she would be delayed in her washing because of the very low water pressure and neither would want to give way. One way of solving this problem was to have a two-faucet outlet but this would entail too much expense.

After giving much thought to the problem for some time, she got an empty powdered milk can, bore two holes near the top and inserted a wire through them so that she had a pail-like container. Then she bore two holes opposite sides of the can near the bottom. She hung this pail-like contraption on the faucet and opened it. The water came out in equal spurts in opposite directions from the bottom of the can and fell into the waiting *banyera*. Thus, she solved a common problem with simple housewife creativeness.

By nature inventors are jealously secretive about their ideas and inventions. Perhaps this is due to the fact that nobody has a monopoly of ideas and a little hint about a good invention indiscreetly mentioned to another inventor may enable the latter to develop a better idea about it. Inventors generally have to keep quiet about their inventions until they are patented.

Usually ideas about an invention come at such unholy hour as midnight. When they do, the inventor has to get up and write them down lest they are forgotten. Sometimes, they come out of the blue while an inventor is walking or riding in a bus or jeepney.

Steps In Inventing

How does an inventor's mind work? More or less it follows the same procedure done by the housewife mentioned above. First step is getting aware of the problem — how to divide the scanty water between the two *lavanderas* at minimum expense. Second step is experimenting with the use of creative thinking. Before the housewife got the idea of using the pail-like contraption, she first tried placing the two *banyeras* together under the faucet but much of the water fell inside the space between them and was wasted. Hence, the idea of a middle container that will serve as an intermediary vessel came up. By experiment she also found that it was better to have the opposite holes near the bottom of the can instead of halfway along the sides. Lastly, the final testing and the results.

There is a new government office, the Philippine Inventors Commission, that will not only give financial, technical, and legal assistance to local inventors but also promote creativeness among our people. It was created under R.A. 3850 which was signed into law by President Diosdado Macapagal last year. This Commission will give Presidential Awards in cash and medals to ideas that will solve our national problems through a "Best Idea Contest." It has its offices at room 223-228 Shurdut Building, in Intramuros, Manila.—#

STATE OF AFFAIRS

by ADRIAN E. CRISTOBAL



A conservative ambition

● PLATO, in many ways a young man's philosopher, nevertheless placed the political power of his Republic in the hands of olderly men. These Guardians are, of course, distinguished for wisdom, experience, prestige, and integrity, that seem to be evident with age, when the earthly passions have cooled. Needless to say, their leadership is conservative, for in Plato's Republic, an ideal one, change would be inconceivable.

Now President Marcos has picked for his cabinet men way beyond their sixties — Yulo, Ramos, and Romulo. These men will preside over three sensitive areas in our public life: the administration of justice, our relations with other nations, and the education of the young. The fear is that they might conserve what is not worth conserving (the influence of traditional relationships), but then, it must not be forgotten that they have a *young* President.

It is significant that President Marcos explained their choice on the basis of their moral qualities — prestige and integrity — and not for their dynamic views. The suggestion is that Yulo, Ramos, and Romulo will behave with rectitude in office, something which the Republic has not had for a long, long time.

If for nothing else, the presence of these three men in the cabinet, recalling to national memory the less corrupt, perhaps uncorrupted, times of the Commonwealth, will help restore popular faith and respect for the government. This is naturally a conservative ambition.

However, Marcos has never displayed a mystical reverence for age as such. Young and dynamic himself, he has known, in the public career that reached its high point in the presidential campaign, what the young could do in critical times. For this reason, he will continue to command the services of the young, as shown, to begin with, in his choice of Rafael M. Salas as executive secretary and Jose D. Aspiras as press secretary.

It is most likely also (indeed, if they had not been appointed yet) that he will "balance" Yulo with the young lawyer, Johnny Ponce Enrile; Ramos with Minister Manuel Colantes (who, being a bachelor, could but for his age qualify for a guardianship in Plato's Republic), and Romulo with O. D. Corpus of the UP. There is even talk of making James Barbers, another young man, deputy police chief of Manila.

These young men, considering the pressures of public office, will most likely act as some sort of executive vice presidents to Secretaries Yulo, Ramos, and Romulo who could, if they choose, perform like British ministers leaving the executive business to their undersecretaries.

In any case, this looks like a logical arrangement — age and youth, experience and enthusiasm, policy and action. It should be given a chance to work out in practice. National greatness could lie there as in anywhere else.—#

Some men have more energy than other men, and it is all in a built-in power house in each man, not in some magic potion or supernatural gift. Filipinos have this extraordinary resource and could profit from it once they conquer one bad habit

● THOSE OF US who had been following through the papers the prodigious leap-frogging of the three presidential aspirants in the months before the last elections are amazed at their seemingly inexhaustible energies. Whence comes that tremendous endurance? What is the source of such physical stamina? What provides men like these with that mysterious extra propulsion?

I would not myself be able to do even a mere fraction of what they had been doing — their moving from place to place, I mean. Naturally I would not, you would say, since I am older than any of the three. That is correct, but I don't think a few years can actually explain the difference. In fact, I believe I can outstrip them any time and handily, too, in the short sprints, for I was quite a hundred-yard dasher in my younger days. I am sure I am physically stronger, being a physical culturist of sorts (barbells, shadow-boxing, yoga, and all that sort of thing — in short, I have been afflicted with the mania for keeping fit). But then, after reading *The Energies Of Men* by William James, I came to discover that the sources of these men's tremendous energies are more than merely physical.

Secret Of Second Wind

I had not before bothered with William, knowing his brother Henry whom I consider rather too heavy for my mental health. But this particular piece by William is surprisingly popular in style and not a bit ponderous. It was while I was puzzling out the mysterious vitality of our national candidates that I came upon this essay which gave me, aside from an hour of delightful reading, the answer not only to our original question on man's amazing endurance, but also to the national habit of inferiority, which has made us blind to our full potentials as a people.

The essay, *The Energies Of Men*, starts with a discussion of the universally known phenomenon known as "second wind." Too often, to paraphrase James, we desist from further exertion as soon as we feel the initial signs of fatigue. We say we have had enough. But there are times when an unusual necessity forces us to go on (perhaps a deadline to meet, or a personal need to finish whatever work we

may be doing at the moment — for this, or perhaps another reason — maybe a word of honor given not to fulfill which would mean more than death to us, and suddenly this surprising thing we call "second wind" occurs. The fatigue which but a moment ago we thought would certainly exhaust us to death if we did not heed it, passes away and we are strong again and feel as fresh if not fresher than when first we started.

Hidden Sources

What has happened? We have evidently tapped, according to James, a new source of energy which was, until then, unknown to us or "masked from us by the fatigue-obstacle which we had just obeyed." We are all aware of this thing known as "second wind" but only a few of us have used it to advantage. In fact, James suspects, there must be layer upon layer of energies — a third or even a fourth "wind" of which we may hardly be conscious.

James extends this to mental activity. Mental activity, he says, shows the phenomenon as well as does the physical, and "in exceptional cases we may find, beyond the very extremity of fatigue-distress, amounts of ease and power that we never dreamed ourselves to own, — sources of strength habitually not taxed at all, because habitually we never push through the obstruction, never pass these early critical points." By which he means the obstruction of first fatigue to which we invariably succumb as a matter of habit.

The human body is a wonderful mechanism composed of organisms with stored up reserves of energy. How else can we explain where the amount of food we take three times a day goes — surely not all of it goes down the pit? This energy is seldom called upon to work for us, with the result that we accomplish only so much and no more. We have, in other words, formed the bad habit of supposing that we have worked quite enough that this is all we are actually capable of doing in the first place. But if we discover that we have layers of untapped energies stashed away somewhere within us, waiting to be used for our good — I am sure the result will be truly amazing. That is, if we actually use these energies and not merely discover them.

be induced to come to the Philippines. Reciprocal tax concessions between the two countries will go far toward attracting fresh Swiss capital investments for Philippine enterprises.

It should be interesting to our people to know that Swiss-Philippine unions have been generally happy and fruitful whether living in the Philippines or in Switzerland. While in the Philippines the case of Col. Hans Menzi is well known, it is not as well known either in Switzerland or the Philippines that the Postmaster-General of Switzerland, Dr. Vicente Tuason, is a Filipino descendant. His father had come to study here but having met a girl, whom he later married, he settled down in his wife's homeland. Besides Dr. Tuason, there is a daughter borne of that union, who is a well-known star on the local stage.

Tagalog-Speaking

There are other unions in Switzerland or products thereof. The former Rosita Rivera of the early Philippine films is now a grandmother living in retirement in this country with her husband, Mr. Frederick Schaer, whom some will remember as the owner of the popular Astoria restaurant on the Escolta during prewar days, famous for its confectioneries. They had met in Hongkong while Mr. Schaer was chef de cuisine of the old Hongkong hotel. They have children and grandchildren in Switzerland and Manila. It is remarkable that the children speak Tagalog as often and well as they speak English and Swiss.

This continuing and widening intercourse goes on. One of my early pleasant duties in Berne was to attend the wedding of a young Filipino lawyer, who, while taking his doctorate in Madrid, met a Swiss girl in the Swiss Embassy of that city. They came to get married early this year in the girl's home city. The groom is the son of Congressman Castillo of Bohol. With more young people coming to this country to study, more and more are falling in love with Swiss girls and are following the precedent set by the elder Tuason.

Is Philippine attachment to Switzerland due to Rizal, to whom I credit the early beginnings of Philippine-Swiss relationship? We cannot be too precise but there are certain significant happenings that make it look so. Consider these facts:

Rizal came here and stayed in Switzerland during May and June in 1887 in the company of Dr. Maximo Viola. Apparently they were merely tourists but they certainly observed carefully, recording almost every detail of their impressions and experiences. He visited Schaffhausen to where he crossed the Rhine from Germany below the scenic falls, staying at the Hotel Muller in that city; Basel, staying in the Alte Bayrische Bierhalle (a hotel-restaurant and beer hall); Berne, staying at the Schweizerhof Hotel; and in Geneva, where he passed his 26th birthday.

While certainly Rizal must have thought of the possibility of death at a not-too-distant future while enjoying Swiss hospitality, perhaps even a heroic death, could anybody have even dreamed then that it would take a Swiss to make the first and best revered monument to his memory? But that's what happened. And so, that is another thread that was woven into the mystic design that has guided the spontaneous development of Philippine-Swiss relations.

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Bonds of friendship



GEMMA IN SWITZERLAND

Gemma Cruz Araneta with Swiss Philippine couples, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Wettstein, nee Mila Montenegro of Dumaguete City, left, and Mr. and Mrs. Jean Mairet, nee Betty Mateos of Manila. Photo was taken during Gemma's recent Swiss tour.



SWISS-PHILIPPINE BUSINESSMEN

Swiss business interests in the Philippines are manifested by Dr. Zuellig (now a Filipino citizen) of Zuellig and Co., Dr. Luk Keller of Ed. A. Keller and Co., and Ernest Pfenninger, formerly of Menzi and Co., now honorary Philippine consul in Zurich. Lady is Mrs. Theodore Seiler, gen. manager's wife.



SPECIAL RELATIONS

Dr. Vicente Tuason, center, postmaster general of Switzerland, is shown with Ambassador Modesto Farolan (right) and Mr. and Mrs. F. Schaer (left). Mrs. Schaer is the former Rosita Rivera of Filipino movies and Mr. Schaer owned the plush prewar Astoria restaurant, located on Escolta, Manila.

international competition was the best means of producing an appropriate design. This competition was won by an Italian artist but when the contract for the job of making the monument came, he failed to meet the guarantee requirements. The committee, therefore, called upon the winner of the second prize, Dr. Richard Kissling, a well-known sculptor of Zurich, who had already gained fame in designing and building such well-known Swiss monuments as the William Tell, Fontana and Vadian, and the Escher Fountain, to undertake the job. Kissling accepted the commission.

As at that time, Kissling was already advanced in years, he enlisted the assistance of another well-known sculptor, by the name of Pessina, of Ligornetto, of Canton Tessin, in Italian Switzerland, with his own pupil and understudy, R. Wening, working with Pessina. Wening is a distinguished sculptor also now advancing in years but still active and prospering in his own specialty, animal sculpture. He is making a trip to Africa for this purpose this January. He was the source of all this information as Dr. Kissling passed away in 1926 or 1927.

It is obvious that Kissling, whose creation is still the best interpretation of and tribute to Rizal in stone and bronze, is not just an ordinary artist. He had studied art and married in Rome. His doctorate, honoris causa, was conferred by the University of Zurich in recognition of his achievements. He was also given the honorary citizenship of Zurich, having been born in Wolfwil in the Canton of Solothurn on April 15, 1948. He had one daughter Stella. His granddaughter, Mme. Jacques Brocher-Koller lives in Chemin Bryon, Geneva.

"Stella"

The Kissling design and model was entered in the Rizal competition under the nom de plume of "Stella," which is the name of his only daughter. He received the order for the job through the Swiss consul in Manila, Mr. Sprungli. The execution of the full-size statue and other sculptural details, as they appear today on the monument in Manila, was done in 1911-12, with Pessina modeling the figures and a J. Grau doing the plaster cast. The casting in bronze was entrusted to the Fonderie d'Art in Paris. The stone used for the base and the obelisk or shaft of the monument is the far-famed Gotthard granite quarried in Wassen, Canton of Uri. The obelisk was originally one whole solid piece of granite but it was so heavy no shipping company could handle it, so it had to be cut into three parts.

The monument was finally accepted by a Philippine commission especially sent for the purpose and it was shipped to Manila in 1913. Due to initial difficulties with the ground set aside for its erection, following inspection by Wening, Kissling's assistant, who went to Manila to supervise construction, and later on because World War I broke out soon after the monument reached Manila, actual construction and unveiling did not take place until after the end of the war.

That's how by the mysterious intervention of events Rizal had helped to open the way for and make possible close Swiss-Philippine relationship. The national hero had come to Switzerland to find inspiration and Swiss artists had turned into a beautiful and much revered monument now standing on Philippine soil an admiring understanding and high concept of Rizal's great ideals and patriotic life. What happy coincidences indeed!—#

MAN

SCIENTIST or HUMANIST?



by MANUEL L. QUEZON, Jr.

● IF THE question were asked, "What distinguishes contemporary civilization from every civilization which preceded it?" and the answer had to be given in a single word, I believe the answer would be "machines," or, to use a broader term, "technology," "physical science." Not, of course, that there was a total absence of anything that could be called a machine in times past. The steam locomotive and the steamship have been with us a good many years, the Roman ballista or catapult for hurling stones at the enemy was in essence a cannon, and even the primitive water-wheel used for irrigation can lay claim to being some sort of machine. But the all-pervading presence and use of machines is something distinctively contemporary.

Modern life depends on machines to a degree impossible 50 years earlier and unthinkable a century ago. The recent power failure in the Northeastern section of the United States practically brought life to a standstill for many hours and showed how easily modern man can be crippled, at least temporarily, by the failure of a single technological invention in the vast power network of a highly industrialized area.

Our sustenance depends increasingly on machines — starvation has been ward off from millions in India and other countries by the surplus wheat of the United States, produced by the use of machines. Our health depends on machines — medicines, ranging from the lowly aspirin to the proud wide-spectrum antibiotic, are produced by machines. Our movement depends on machines — from the jeepney and automobile to the jet to the space vehicle to the apartment dweller's elevator. Except for short distances, no one is willing to walk, unless out of unavoidable necessity or for relaxation or exercise, and some forms of exercise are now done with the help of machines — take the much advertised relacizor or the electric horse for losing weight.

Our enjoyment depends more and more on machines — we see motion pictures produced and projected by machines in a theater air-conditioned by machines, and possibly, as we watch, we eat candy gotten from a vending machine. Some people even use mechanical toothbrushes. It would be an entertaining pastime, if we had nothing better to do, to imagine one day's existence, if every modern machine and

every product of a modern machine were suddenly to disappear. Only a member of the most backward tribe in the most inaccessible part of the earth knows the experience.

The term "Machine Age" is a very apt one indeed to describe our times. Were it not for the dramatic military use to which atomic power has so lamentably been put, with its threat of human annihilation, we might not even think of calling this the Atomic Age. We would look on nuclear fission as another means to power machines, as did pre-World War II textbooks of chemistry and physics. We do everything by means of machines. We have reached the point where machines run other machines — automation — and we talk of "thinking" machines — the computers — grossly misunderstanding and abusing the word "think."

The Machine Age

This then is the Machine Age, or the Age of Technology, or the Age of Physical Science, as you may wish. It is also the age of the emancipation of colonial peoples, the age of modern art — whatever that may mean to those qualified to judge — it is the age of freedom; this with more than a grain of salt — but it is THE MACHINE AGE, with a vengeance. And therein lies a threat to humanity which would not disappear even if, by some undeserved mercy of God, the very notion of atomic destruction were to vanish irretrievably from the mind of every man, woman, and child on this earth.

What is the effect of the machine on men? Only an insane man would deny the uncounted benefits of modern technology. There are precious few who advocate a return to the jungle, and I doubt whether any would persist in their advocacy if they were asked to do it first. The most ingrained humanist, the educator, the man of letters, the artist, the philosopher, the theologian — all are indebted to modern technology and would be most ungrateful not to acknowledge the debt.

The tremendous spread of knowledge has been made possible by the cheap mass production of all sorts of printed materials, which in turn are rapidly distributed all over the world. More progressive methods of education are possible because of scientific inventions such as educational television and tape

recorders. The fight against illiteracy is being pushed ahead, and meanwhile, transistors supply the defect by providing the means for mass dissemination of information to otherwise isolated villages. Swift transportation enables peoples widely separated by distance and customs to meet, with a resulting growth in mutual understanding and lessening of tensions. The means for spreading education and culture all over the world are at hand, thanks to technology.

It is incumbent upon modern man to give every encouragement to science and technology, to its progress and ever-widening use. In fact, his survival largely depends upon it. Human society and its individual members must further scientific advance. Insofar as we fail to do so, especially we Filipinos in this country of ours which can profit so much from technology, we shall bear the burden of guilt and we shall answer for it to history.

Which is very far from saying that science, technology, the machine ought to have the highest place of honor in the temple of modern civilization. Science does in fact sit a God over our destinies — we have allowed it to do so through our own fault. Modern man has been so impressed by the achievements of science that he has forgotten one basic fact — that modern science is a *tool*, just as the first stick used to bury a seed was a tool, meant to serve him and comfort him, not turn into a monster in whose presence he alternately dances and cowers. More, he is in danger of turning into a machine himself.

The Danger

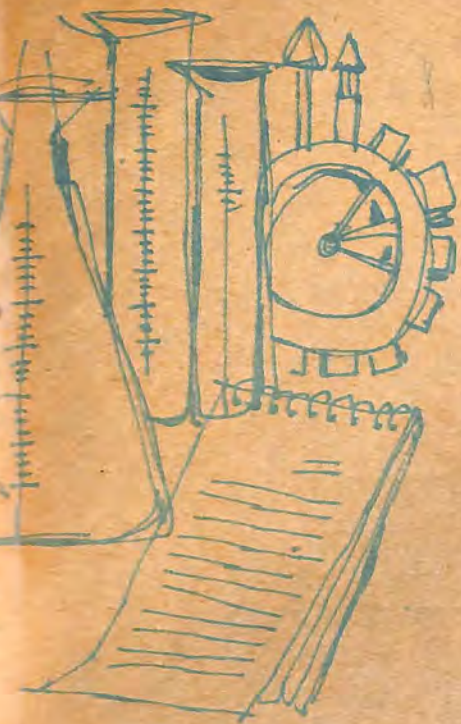
The Bible tells us that God made man in His image and likeness. Man is in danger of remaking himself in the image and likeness of his machines. There is a Spanish proverb which runs: *dime con quien andas y te dire quien eres* — tell me the company you keep and I shall tell you what sort of man you are. Modern man's inseparable companion is the machine, and the Spanish proverb is in ever greater danger of being applicable to the situation. We demand more and more technology, more and more science, and we are right, but we must be aware and must beware of the danger.

The Nazi scientists were just about

as scientific and technologically perfect as men could be at the time. Humanity was treated to the hideous spectacle of those same scientists using captured Allied flyers for tests on the effect of explosive decompression on the eardrums — the flyers' eardrums burst and they suffered torture, which was all observed, photographed, and duly noted with the same detachment with which you or I might read a room thermometer. Human flesh, if reports are to be believed, was turned into soap, just as horses are turned into glue.

A human being, if given a purely "scientific" mentality — I put the word in quotation marks, for this is not true science — can be as efficient and impartial as a machine. A meat grinder will, with equal efficiency, grind pork, beef, chicken and, if you put it in the right, that is, the wrong place, your hand with the same unfeeling impartiality; and a dehumanized man will, with the same efficiency and impartiality, wipe out weeds, insects, and men if and when his "scientific" mind so decides (again I put the word in quotes). In the words of the French philosopher Jacques Maritain, "Modern man placed his hope in machines, in technique, and in mechanical and industrial civilization — without wisdom to dominate them and put them at the service of human good and freedom, for he expected freedom from the development of external techniques themselves, not from any ascetic effort toward the internal possession of self. And how can one who does not possess the standards of human life, which are metaphysical, apply them to our use of the machine? The law of the machine, which is the law of matter, will apply itself to him, and enslave him."

Man feels that he is almost in control of the universe. Perhaps he is. But, what is more important, he is not in control of himself. Technology holds a vast potential for good or for evil, and because in itself this potential is indifferent or neutral, and because man is not in control of himself, the second alternative is all too often chosen. Thus, nuclear power, which should be lighting our cities, is instead poised to destroy them. Thus, knowledge of bacteria is used not only to destroy them, but to control or destroy people by means of bacteria. Thus, mass media are used to degrade rather than elevate men, to per-



a public scandal. He can produce new paints for a painter, he cannot, *purely and solely as a scientist*, tell the painter how to produce a masterpiece. He can tell us how to keep healthy, how to feel comfortable, he cannot tell us why we should keep healthy or why we are entitled to comfort. He cannot tell us how to be good or how to be happy or why.

Those fields in which the scientist as such is incompetent are the fields in which man as man, a rational, moral, esthetic, loving being, lives the life proper to himself, as distinct from and superior to the rest of visible Creation. How science can benefit mankind can be determined only by disciplines outside the realm of science. Goodness can be understood and inculcated only through religion and ethics. Art can be produced and improved only through the canons of art. Vast areas of truth are beyond the pale of physical science and can be explored and ascertained only through other means. It is only through the humanities that science can perform its true function, which is to help in the attainment of human self-fulfillment. The proper role of science, and therefore its highest achievement, can be attained only in the context of a truly humanist civilization, what Maritain calls *integral humanism*.

Emphasis On Humanities

Our Constitution imposes on the state the obligation to encourage and aid science and the humanities. Few of its provisions are wiser, and few are more sadly neglected. That the constitutional mandate has thus far been ineffectively implemented, despite the most strenuous efforts of our educators, is a standing reproach to our government. Attempts are more easily discerned in the line of the sciences, but in the humanities. . . With the accelerated growth of science and its impact on contemporary life, a growth undreamed of by the Fathers of the Constitution in 1934, the emphasis on the humanities cannot be delayed.

Our knowledge of the humanities must grow and be given every encouragement to do so. The place of the thinker, the historian, the artist must be secured in our esteem, which alone will make it secure in our society. We must get a firm grasp of *values*, of the proper place of different kinds of knowledge and endeavor, their interrelation and mutual subordination and their proper objectives, and this we can do only with the aid of the humanities. We must strengthen our faith in the value of man and the subordinate value of things, as intended to serve us, individually and collectively. Man rightly pins high hopes on science only when science is held in the grip of man, not man in the grip of science.

In the so-called advanced countries, technology has already outpaced the humanities, in some with disastrous results, in others with impending disaster, but massive and, we hope, ultimately successful exertions are being made to correct the imbalance. Here we are almost at the bare beginnings of both, quantitatively certainly, and also, to a lesser extent, qualitatively. It is within our power to achieve and maintain a balanced growth of the two. In our present economic and political plight it is easy to overlook the importance of both, but more especially of the humanities. We can ill afford to do so. We dare not.—#

vert rather than convert.

A scientific education, then, is not the solution to our ills. It is not the solution if it is divorced from studies of another and higher order. Science presents us with facts and hypotheses. But bare facts and hypotheses are of little use in themselves, where the good life is concerned. All the knowledge about vibrations, their frequencies and the ways and means of producing and controlling them are of little value, unless, to use an example, we use that knowledge to record a musical performance with greater purity and fidelity, in order to uplift the soul of a man who is unable to attend the performance himself. It will do a man no good to arrive hours sooner by the forthcoming super-sonic transports if he does not know what to do with the time he has saved.

What am I trying to say by all this?

We demand more and more technology, more and more science, and we are right. But we must be aware that this has some dangers, too

Simply that if we are to live meaningful lives, there are other disciplines which are of even greater importance than technology. We can build a more truly human life, in the best sense of the word, if we give its rightful due to the study of the *humanities*. The development of a technological civilization demands more, not less, appreciation of the humanities — arts, letters, politics, philosophy, religion, etc., and a more thorough grounding in them.

Science itself cannot tell us how it should be used. A scientist can tell us how to freeze a living human body, he cannot tell us, *purely and solely as a scientist*, whether or not it ought to be done. He can tell us how to transmit information, he cannot tell us, *purely and solely as a scientist*, whether a private misdeed ought to be turned into

A brain-side view of inventors:

What makes an inventor tick?

by JESUS PEMPENGCO, JR.

● THE POPULAR image of an inventor is a man with disheveled long hair and unshaved beard. He is usually caricatured with a wrapped box containing his latest brainchild while patiently waiting at the reception room of a patent attorney.

My long association with local inventors as secretary and public relations officer of the Filipino Inventors Society Inc. has proved the contrary. During meetings, our local inventors are generally neat in their well-pressed Barong Tagalog or shirt and tie. Certainly none of that disheveled look. Their ages range from 25 to 65. Distinguishing them from ordinary people is a difficult task.

What makes our inventors different?

Inventors have some common characteristics. They have keen observation of necessities, patience in experimenting, creative minds, and jealous secrecy about their inventions.

Necessity is often the "mother of invention." Inventors easily become aware of necessities, whether they are the small daily necessities of everyone or the special necessities of a particular group. No inventor in his right mind will work on an invention that is not needed.

Unlimited Patience

A person who gives up an experiment after the first 10 or more failures cannot be an inventor. Rare are the inventions that succeed in such a small number of attempts. If an inventor cannot solve a problem frontally, he attacks it from underneath, from above, from behind, or laterally. When asked why he would not give up after so many failures in an experiment that did not give any positive answer, Edison replied that each failure was a negative answer that showed him what would not work. His technique was to ask Nature for the correct answer again and again through experiments until She gave herself away.

The experimental stage is the most difficult part, as any inventor will tell you. Usually inventors are rich only in ideas. Hence, it is very difficult for them to make experiments at their expense without sacrificing the family budget.

Creative thinking is inborn among inventors although it may be developed in almost everyone. This is the ability to create something new out of existing laws and principles unlike in judicial thinking which is merely deciding on what should be done according to laws and principles. Thus, a lawyer or a doctor studies a case to see what law or remedy should be applied and thereby makes use of judicial thinking to produce something new out of the principles he has studied.

There was a housewife who was faced with an ordinary household problem which she solved through creative thinking. Two families were living in their house and their two *lavanderas* frequently quarrel about the scanty water because they got their water for laundry

from the same faucet. If one of them allowed the other to fill up her big *banyera* first, she would be delayed in her washing because of the very low water pressure and neither would want to give way. One way of solving this problem was to have a two-faucet outlet but this would entail too much expense.

After giving much thought to the problem for some time, she got an empty powdered milk can, bore two holes near the top and inserted a wire through them so that she had a pail-like container. Then she bore two holes opposite sides of the can near the bottom. She hung this pail-like contraption on the faucet and opened it. The water came out in equal spurts in opposite directions from the bottom of the can and fell into the waiting *banyera*. Thus, she solved a common problem with simple housewife creativeness.

By nature inventors are jealously secretive about their ideas and inventions. Perhaps this is due to the fact that nobody has a monopoly of ideas and a little hint about a good invention indiscreetly mentioned to another inventor may enable the latter to develop a better idea about it. Inventors generally have to keep quiet about their inventions until they are patented.

Usually ideas about an invention come at such unholy hour as midnight. When they do, the inventor has to get up and write them down lest they are forgotten. Sometimes, they come out of the blue while an inventor is walking or riding in a bus or jeepney.

Steps In Inventing

How does an inventor's mind work? More or less it follows the same procedure done by the housewife mentioned above. First step is getting aware of the problem — how to divide the scanty water between the two *lavanderas* at minimum expense. Second step is experimenting with the use of creative thinking. Before the housewife got the idea of using the pail-like contraption, she first tried placing the two *banyeras* together under the faucet but much of the water fell inside the space between them and was wasted. Hence, the idea of a middle container that will serve as an intermediary vessel came up. By experiment she also found that it was better to have the opposite holes near the bottom of the can instead of halfway along the sides. Lastly, the final testing and the results.

There is a new government office, the Philippine Inventors Commission, that will not only give financial, technical, and legal assistance to local inventors but also promote creativeness among our people. It was created under R.A. 3850 which was signed into law by President Diosdado Macapagal last year. This Commission will give Presidential Awards in cash and medals to ideas that will solve our national problems through a "Best Idea Contest." It has its offices at room 223-228 Shurdut Building, in Intramuros, Manila.—#

STATE OF AFFAIRS

by ADRIAN
E. CRISTOBAL



A conservative ambition

● PLATO, in many ways a young man's philosopher, nevertheless placed the political power of his Republic in the hands of elderly men. These Guardians are, of course, distinguished for wisdom, experience, prestige, and integrity, that seem to be evident with age, when the earthly passions have cooled. Needless to say, their leadership is conservative, for in Plato's Republic, an ideal one, change would be inconceivable.

Now President Marcos has picked for his cabinet men way beyond their sixties — Yulo, Ramos, and Romulo. These men will preside over three sensitive areas in our public life: the administration of justice, our relations with other nations, and the education of the young. The fear is that they might conserve what is not worth conserving (the influence of traditional relationships), but then, it must not be forgotten that they have a *young* President.

It is significant that President Marcos explained their choice on the basis of their moral qualities — prestige and integrity — and not for their dynamic views. The suggestion is that Yulo, Ramos, and Romulo will behave with rectitude in office, something which the Republic has not had for a long, long time.

If for nothing else, the presence of these three men in the cabinet, recalling to national memory the less corrupt, perhaps uncorrupted, times of the Commonwealth, will help restore popular faith and respect for the government. This is naturally a conservative ambition.

However, Marcos has never displayed a mystical reverence for age as such. Young and dynamic himself, he has known, in the public career that reached its high point in the presidential campaign, what the young could do in critical times. For this reason, he will continue to command the services of the young, as shown, to begin with, in his choice of Rafael M. Salas as executive secretary and Jose D. Aspiras as press secretary.

It is most likely also (indeed, if they had not been appointed yet) that he will "balance" Yulo with the young lawyer, Johnny Ponce Enrile; Ramos with Minister Manuel Colantes (who, being a bachelor, could but for his age qualify for a guardianship in Plato's Republic), and Romulo with O. D. Corpus of the UP. There is even talk of making James Barbers, another young man, deputy police chief of Manila.

These young men, considering the pressures of public office, will most likely act as some sort of executive vice presidents to Secretaries Yulo, Ramos, and Romulo who could, if they choose, perform like British ministers leaving the executive business to their undersecretaries.

In any case, this looks like a logical arrangement — age and youth, experience and enthusiasm, policy and action. It should be given a chance to work out in practice. National greatness could lie there as in anywhere else.—#

Some men have more energy
than other men, and it is all
in a built-in power house
in each man, not in some
magic potion or supernatural
gift. Filipinos have this
extraordinary resource and
could profit from it once
they conquer one bad habit

● THOSE OF US who had been following through the papers the prodigious leap-frogging of the three presidential aspirants in the months before the last elections are amazed at their seemingly inexhaustible energies. Whence comes that tremendous endurance? What is the source of such physical stamina? What provides men like these with that mysterious extra propulsion?

I would not myself be able to do even a mere fraction of what they had been doing — their moving from place to place, I mean. Naturally I would not, you would say, since I am older than any of the three. That is correct, but I don't think a few years can actually explain the difference. In fact, I believe I can outstrip them any time and handily, too, in the short sprints, for I was quite a hundred-yard dasher in my younger days. I am sure I am physically stronger, being a physical culturist of sorts (barbells, shadow-boxing, yoga, and all that sort of thing — in short, I have been afflicted with the mania for keeping fit). But then, after reading *The Energies Of Men* by William James, I came to discover that the sources of these men's tremendous energies are more than merely physical.

Secret Of Second Wind

I had not before bothered with William, knowing his brother Henry whom I consider rather too heavy for my mental health. But this particular piece by William is surprisingly popular in style and not a bit ponderous. It was while I was puzzling out the mysterious vitality of our national candidates that I came upon this essay which gave me, aside from an hour of delightful reading, the answer not only to our original question on man's amazing endurance, but also to the national habit of inferiority, which has made us blind to our full potentials as a people.

The essay, *The Energies Of Men*, starts with a discussion of the universally known phenomenon known as "second wind." Too often, to paraphrase James, we desist from further exertion as soon as we feel the initial signs of fatigue. We say we have had enough. But there are times when an unusual necessity forces us to go on (perhaps a deadline to meet, or a personal need to finish whatever work we

may be doing at the moment — for this, or perhaps another reason — maybe a word of honor given not to fulfill which would mean more than death to us, and suddenly this surprising thing we call "second wind" occurs. The fatigue which but a moment ago we thought would certainly exhaust us to death if we did not heed it, passes away and we are strong again and feel as fresh if not fresher than when first we started.

Hidden Sources

What has happened? We have evidently tapped, according to James, a new source of energy which was, until then, unknown to us or "masked from us by the fatigue-obstacle which we had just obeyed." We are all aware of this thing known as "second wind" but only a few of us have used it to advantage. In fact, James suspects, there must be layer upon layer of energies — a third or even a fourth "wind" of which we may hardly be conscious.

James extends this to mental activity. Mental activity, he says, shows the phenomenon as well as does the physical, and "in exceptional cases we may find, beyond the very extremity of fatigue-distress, amounts of ease and power that we never dreamed ourselves to own, — sources of strength habitually not taxed at all, because habitually we never push through the obstruction, never pass these early critical points." By which he means the obstruction of first fatigue to which we invariably succumb as a matter of habit.

The human body is a wonderful mechanism composed of organisms with stored up reserves of energy. How else can we explain where the amount of food we take three times a day goes — surely not all of it goes down the pit? This energy is seldom called upon to work for us, with the result that we accomplish only so much and no more. We have, in other words, formed the bad habit of supposing that we have worked quite enough that this is all we are actually capable of doing in the first place. But if we discover that we have layers of untapped energies stashed away somewhere within us, waiting to be used for our good — I am sure the result will be truly amazing. That is, if we actually use these energies and not merely discover them.

QUEZON

RE

Aug. 17 1966

MY FATHER WAS PROUD OF THE FILIPINO

by MANUEL L. QUEZON, Jr.

In an interview by MONINA A. MERCADO, Staff Member

THE FOLLOWING IS A TRANSCRIPTION OF THE TAPE-RECORDED INTERVIEW.

Question: Would you remember any statement of President Quezon regarding his concept of a Filipino?

Manuel L. Quezon, Jr.: I suppose it would be that speech which went: "My fellow countrymen, There is only one thing I want you to bear in mind and that is, the Philippines is your own country, the only country that God has given you. You must live for it and die for it, if necessary. You must keep it for your children and your children's children until the world is no more." I think my father at that time was sick in the United States and had intended to send a message to the Filipino people. It was made into a record, one side in English, the other in Spanish. This speech must have originally been prepared when I was still a very small boy, probably around 1930; yet I recall lately some people mentioning to me that they remember the speech.

If you were to draw a picture of President Quezon as Filipino nationalist, what certain elements would you point out — in externals, for instance?

For one thing, his speech was trilingual — which is typical of an educated Filipino. He was brought up speaking Tagalog and his education was Spanish and he learned English only as an adult. So possibly he was more at home in Tagalog than in English; it was very often that he delivered long speeches in Tagalog. Later on, he wrote his speeches in English and sometimes delivered them in English and Tagalog. I don't remember my father delivering a speech in Spanish; although possibly on his birthday celebrations in Letran, he might have addressed them in Spanish. At home, he must have spoken to me in Tagalog all the time when I was a child

because I was not at home in Spanish until after the war.

How was the President Filipino in manner?

He was quite unsophisticated, the small-town Filipino, you might say. His hometown Baler was never known for much sophistication. There were no upper or lower classes; everyone seemed to be from the farming class. And so my father had the simplicity of a smalltown boy, though he was not *provinciano* — in the derogatory narrow sense of the term — at all. He was very, very attached to his hometown — isn't that typical of the Filipino? People there were very close to him. We were brought up to consider ourselves as being from Baler although we never lived there. I never realized that I am what they call "a Manila boy" until I was in my middle 20s. And I suppose the idea of going to Baler was connected in my mind of going home.

Toward the elders of Baler, many of whom were his relatives, he showed a tremendous respect, again a very Filipino trait. A lot of them called him *Presidente*, but to some he was *Nonong* — and I think he liked that.

Another very Filipino external, I might point out, is his manner of eating. He liked Filipino food very much — *sinigang*, especially — and I think he enjoyed eating with his hands.

The strange thing was that people gave him the nickname *Kastila*, perhaps on the basis that he looked like one! If he was Castilian at all, it was perhaps in his famous mercurial temper — but then again, that was an individual matter. And yet neither was he very Oriental — if by Oriental, you mean smooth and inscrutable. You could tell immediately what he was thinking of. You can tell his reaction just by looking at him, you can see if he was worried or happy. I think this open face is fairly common among Filipinos. Yes, they

may hide it when they feel hurt; this you might not see in their faces. But if they are very angry, or very glad, or very worried, you can tell right away by the face of the Filipino.

What was his manner of dealing with people?

He was very much at ease with every one, Filipino or foreigner. I remember on occasions when he was driving out in the province, he would order the driver to stop at a *tienda*. He then got down and talked to the men very easily, very unpretentiously. I remember too how he often consulted his barber about scuttlebutt and prevailing opinion. On the other hand, he hadn't a superior way of dealing with people either. I suppose the parallel would be the way that an elderly respected Filipino was regarded in the community. There was fatherliness toward the young, dignity, and mutual respect toward the old.

With foreigners, too, he was perfectly relaxed and quite natural without a deferential or aggressive attitude. I think the only adjustment he made was in language, using Spanish to Spaniards or English to Americans. And I'd say this much, he shouted at his American subordinates with every bit of loudness and violence as he did at any Filipino or Spanish subordinates.

Definitely he never knew the meaning of *dungo*. People still recall how he danced with enjoyment even with American women taller than he. He had extensive social relationship with Americans, of course — many of them were his bridge partners. And in so far as it was possible to deal equally with a head of state, they dealt with him so but always with a great deal of respect. He was not the kind of man with whom one could get fresh, after all. He wouldn't have stood for that.

But though he never knew what it was to be *dungo* or subservient to anybody, he never with- / To page 12

Like a small-town Filipino, he was quite unsophisticated



TOP OF THE WEEK

by C. PRIGO

● AFTER scrapping the realty tax in Manila, Mayor Villegas is all set to lift the taxes on food, clothing, shelter, medicines, and books.

We'd be happy if the Gatpuno would also lift the tax on our credulity.

Not to be outdone by his Manila counterpart, Pasay's Mayor Cune-ta has abolished the fee on birth certificates.

We can now say that population explosion has attained the status of a tax-exempt home industry.

EQUAL TREATMENT FOR ALL OFFENDERS — *Column head*

But the scions of the rich and the influential get a treat, not a treatment.



It is said that the shooting spree in Texas by Charles Whitman was caused by a tumor in his brain.

Here, shootings are caused by rumor in the ear, or lack of humor.

Why can children of the high and mighty get away with mayhem and murder, while the sons of the lowly cannot?

Because the children of the high and mighty are above the low.

Let everybody be forewarned: Mayor Villegas will hold a Filipino Food Festival for 15 days in Manila, featuring only local food.

Let's eat and drink and be merry today, for tomorrow we diet.

Some banks are proudly announcing their computers that are supposed to make depositing your cash a pleasure.

What's so wonderful and new about computers? Every husband is married to one.

Arbor Week reminds us that in this age, the fellow who rises highest is the sap of the family tree.

Noting that they are often quick to dismiss cases after a "sketchy" preliminary investigation, Pres-

ident Marcos chided the fiscals, telling them to "go out and get the evidence yourselves, if necessary."

What does the President think they are — fiscals?

Market Administrator Pete de Jesus has launched a drive against illegal and defective weights and measures in Manila public markets.

There is of course a lot of wailing among the vendors, protestations of honest errors and such. To Pete, their words, like their scales, do not carry much weight.

Now it seems that this term ("Number One") in Saigon is used as a sort of slang to denote the best or something extraordinarily good or anything they like very much. — *Extract from column*

Here it's "Number Two."

TAAL'S MAIN CRATER QUIET, EXPERTS SAY — *Headline*

But not the experts.

The country may not be able to lick TB with anti-TB stamps, but at least you can lick the stamps.

Several officials close to the President have paved the way for the President's trip to Washington.

And yet we do not see anything concrete. Or is the road to Washington paved with good inventions?

Judging by the number of bystanders hit by cops and security guards, we advise these arms of the law to aim at bystanders.

Only then will they hit the proper target.

On the first day of the resumption of the anti-littering drive, 40 pedestrians were nabbed by cops disguised as civilians.

This should be a warning to people who think that cigarette and ticket stubs are not rubbish. It's litter than you think.

LEFT TO DIE — *Tabloid headline*

They should be left to die only those who have no right to live.

Fashion note: Lines might be returning to softer sweeps, but the darned knees must be exposed.

That's good news to us red-blooded males. We like the knees because, unlike other parts of the female anatomy, only in church pews are they padded with rubber.—#

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national Airport on Nov. 25 and was able to attend the meeting called by the team captain that morning.

With this obstacle hurdled, new problems beleaguered the shooters. Six days before departure date, Mendoza, a member of the centerfire pistol team that was to fire in the first shooting event on Dec. 10, contracted a severe case of influenza accompanied by vomiting. Still weak and leaner by 10 pounds, Tony managed to join his teammates at the airport on Dec. 4, carrying medicine and doctor's orders to follow in case of a relapse.

Upon their arrival at the Asian Games Village in Bangkok, the shooters learned that rifle shooter Ang, who had arrived on Dec. 1 with the first batch of RP athletes, was also down with the flu. Ang also managed to recover in time for his event, but the shooters were further bothered by minor illnesses, such as upset stomachs, diarrhea, and skin disorders caused by Bangkok's drinking water, the sticky, humid weather, and the insects that invaded their quarters every night.

Kalaw arrived in Bangkok on Dec. 6 with the much-needed Remington .38 cal. ammunition which he had bought in Hongkong with funds donated by

to buy and get to buy in Manila, but these were not enough. Hardest hit by lack of ammo were the ISU centerfire pistol shooters, for .38 cal. factory loads were out of stock in Manila. Kalaw's arrival with the goods saved the day for them, and he was greeted with shouts of relief from all shooters.

Under the close supervision of Herrera and Kalaw, all the RP shooters practiced daily at the Hua Mak Range for four days, Dec. 5 to Dec. 8 inclusive. When competition began on Saturday, Dec. 10, shooters who were not firing continued to practice for their event.

The first shooting competition was the ISU centerfire pistol event. Tension increased as everyone knew that the entire team's morale depended on the first performance of their teammates. If the RP centerfire pistol shooters made good, the rest of the shooters — rifle, free pistol, and rapid fire pistol — would be inspired to win more medals; if they failed, the damage to their fighting spirit would be great.

But the centerfire pistol shooters overcame the tension, the pressure, and the oppressive heat and blazed an auspicious start for the Philippine Shooting Team.

Bond, national pistol champion and

The air rifle event followed on Monday, Dec. 12. The RP rifle shooters were least prepared for this competition. They were unable to practice with the air rifle before leaving for Bangkok, because none of them, except Adolfo "Chito" Feliciano, owned a target air rifle. No air rifle competitions have ever been held in Manila, and the air rifle is not included in the Philippine Shooting Association's eliminations or national championship matches.

Feliciano was also unable to practice with his air rifle, for Manila airport customs authorities released his air rifle only a few days before the shooting team enplaned for Bangkok. The air rifle had been deposited by him at the airport on his return from the World Shoot held in Germany last July, and his subsequent efforts to claim it were rebuffed by customs men for four months until the Asiad came up.

Del Castillo and Ang held air rifles for the first time in Bangkok, when Kalaw arrived on Dec. 6 with air rifles he had bought for them in Hongkong. Espinosa was also a tyro with the air rifle; the one he was to use in the Asiad was lent him by Miranda, who had bought it in Germany.

Miranda returned to Manila only on

bore rifle 3-position competition. Paced by Feliciano, who with his score of 1101 points won the bronze medal in the individual competition, the Philippine riflemen took the silver medal in the team competition. The two new medals garnered by the rifle shooters upped the shooting team's medal collection to five: two silver, and three bronze.

RP pistol shooters repeated the rifle-men's excellent showing the next day, Dec. 15, in the rapid fire pistol event. Paterno Miranda, the Philippine entry for individual honors, took the bronze medal while the team, sparked by his brother Horacio's Philippine record-breaking score of 577, walked away with the silver.

National rapid fire pistol champion De Castro, unfortunately, scored an all-time low of 546; had he performed according to expectations, the RP rapid fire pistol team would have won the gold medal.

But the Philippine shooters' biggest day was yet to come. On Friday, Dec. 16, in the standard rifle, 3-position competition, the Philippines won two silver medals. Feliciano, the individual entry, scored 540 to grab second honors, while the team chalked up 2121 points to take the silver disc in the team competition.

What was ironic and heartbreaking was that the Philippines could have copped the gold medal in this shooting event. Ang, a member of the rifle team, scored a record-breaking 558 points, 2 points higher than Nationalist China's Wu Tao Yuan, who won the gold medal in the individual competition.

As Feliciano had been registered as the Philippine entry for individual honors in this competition, Ang's record-breaking score could not be considered for the individuals contest. If Asian Games regulations were less stringent, the RP athletic delegation would have come home with a third gold medal and another distinction.

The team bagged their tenth and last medal the next day, Dec. 17, when Feliciano won the bronze in the individual competition of the smallbore rifle, prone position, with a score of 583. As in the air rifle competition, the Filipino riflemen did not really expect to win any honors in the team competition, as the rifle team sent to Bangkok — Ang, Del Castillo, and Espinosa — are 3-position rifle shooters, and not prone position specialists.

Feliciano, of course, is the exception, for in the PSA final eliminations held in Manila, he topped both the prone position contest and the 3-position smallbore rifle eliminations.

Some sports fans may point out that the Philippine Shooting Team brought home no gold medals. It should be recalled that at least one shooter, Leopoldo Ang, turned in a performance that rated not only a gold medal, but also the distinct honor of breaking an Asian Games record. It was just tough luck for the Philippines that Ang was not registered as the Philippine entry for individual honors in that rifle event. The other shooters also did exceptionally well, considering the measly budget allocated them by the PAAF and the little — if any — moral support, encouragement, and publicity given them by the PAAF and sportswriters.—#

own, but look at their haul of medals / by AIDA SEVILLA MENDOZA



Left: Chito Feliciano (right) won the silver medal in the standard rifle (3 positions). China's Wu Tao Yuan (center) won the gold medal while Japan's Takao Ishii got the bronze. Above, seated, left to right: Nestor de Castro, Team Captain Bernardo Herrera, PSA President Gen. Alfredo Santos (ret.), NRPA Pres. P.B. Dionisio, Delegation Head Teodoro Kalaw, NRPA Vice-Pres. C.C. de Castro, Raymundo Quitariano. Standing: Leopoldo Ang, Roberto del Castillo, Moises Gines, Jr., Ludovico Espinosa, Edgar Bond, Jr., Paterno Miranda, Antonio Arguelles Mendoza, and Horacio Miranda.

Crescenciano C. de Castro, vice-president of the National Rifle and Pistol Association.

Before Kalaw's arrival, the RP centerfire pistol team had been using bullets reloaded in Manila during practice at the Hua Mak Shooting Range, much to the amusement of the South Korean shooters, who repeatedly warned them that reloaded bullets were "no good" in that they are inaccurate and undependable. The factory-load ammo publicized as available at the Asian Games Village for all shooting teams' practice was released for sale only two days before the opening of the Games. All the shooting teams had brought along a good supply of factory-load ammo for practice as well as for competition, all except for the Philippine team.

True, each RP shooter had brought along as much ammo as he could afford

veteran of the Tokyo Olympic Games and Jakarta Asian Games, bagged the silver medal for the Philippines in the individual competition with a score of 560 out of a possible 600.

The RP centerfire pistol team, led by Bond, captured the bronze in the team event. The grueling matches lasted two days, and were held in the mornings, as were all shooting events.

The Korean team, which was coached in Korea by US Army Sgt. William Blankenship, Jr., the world record holder and international champion of the ISU centerfire pistol, easily won the gold medal.

The Philippine team scored 2206 points, broken down as follows:

Edgar Bond, Jr.	560
Antonio Arguelles Mendoza	553
Horacio Miranda	553
Moises Gines, Jr.	540

Nov. 25, so Espinosa, like his air rifle teammates, was totally without practice.

In spite of their inexperience with the air rifle and after only four days' practice in Bangkok, the RP air rifle team — perhaps heartened by the centerfire pistol team's glowing performance — captured the bronze medal. This victory, minor as it seemed to others, renewed the determination of our shooters to bring home as many medals as they possibly could.

Next on the agenda on Tuesday, Dec. 13, was the free pistol event during the three hours of which 60 shots were to be fired. The RP team took fourth place, with Horacio Miranda as top scorer with 510 points. This was the only shooting event in which RP marksmen disappointed their followers.

The Philippine team did much better the next day, Dec. 14, in the small-

● **SOME YEARS** ago, a diplomat from one of the countries of the British Commonwealth remarked to a small number of Filipinos that Malaya was not a democracy but a bureaucracy, a very good bureaucracy perhaps, but not a democracy. The Philippines, continued the diplomat, was the only democracy in this part of the world.

I was not then, nor am I now, in a position to pass judgment on the diplomat's view of Malaya (now Malaysia), but I have very serious doubts about his observation regarding the Philippines.

If he was referring to the *form* of government, there would be very good reason to question the accuracy of his comparison. Although Malaysia is a constitutional monarchy and the Philippines a republic, both are democracies.

If the diplomat was referring to the *style* in which things are done on the governmental level, I must abstain from commenting on Malaysia, being entirely ignorant on this point; the style of doing things in the Philippine government is frequently anarchic rather than democratic.

But if the diplomat was referring to the mentality behind government in Malaysia and in the Philippines, mentality which is manifested in various ways, I must still abstain from comments on Malaysia, but I would say that we do not have a definitely democratic mentality, and that the diplomat's remark about the Philippines would have to be hedged with so many reservations that it simply could not stand as it was made.

Exactly what do I mean when I assert that the Filipino mentality is not definitely democratic? Do I mean that it is not democratic at all? Or do I mean that it is almost, but not quite democratic? Let us see.

Studies on government all too often suffer from a very serious defect: they fail to devote time and space to a consideration of four factors which have a decisive influence on the success or failure of any government. Those four factors are: the ideal of government, the constitution and laws in which that ideal is embodied, the way in which that embodiment is applied to practice, and the mentality and customs of the people.

Those four factors are not isolated, unrelated things; they hinge on one another, they are so interrelated that, unless the proper relationship between them is maintained, successful, efficient government cannot be achieved or, if already achieved, cannot long be sustained. Let us begin by explaining very briefly what those four factors mean.

The idea of government, or ideal of government if you wish, is the concept, the theory of the kind of government which the country under consideration is supposed to have. We have, for example, the ideal of a democratic republic. An ideal, however, is not of much use unless it takes concrete form.

We would have no government at all if we were to rest content with saying that we want a democratic republic: it is necessary that a definite form be given to that ideal, by having a constitution and laws which determine the basic principles of the government, the allocation of powers to the officials of the

government, the manner in which those officials are to be selected, etc.

Thus far, however, we are still in what we might call the realm of the theoretical. How are the constitution and the laws put into practice? Is the constitution observed? If not, is it because the constitution cannot be observed or because there is no desire to observe it? Lastly, what sort of mentality do the people have? Does it accord with the constitution and the ideal of government? How compatible are the customs of the people with the ideal, its constitutional embodiment, and practice?

As the reader must have noticed, there is a connection between the four factors. The connection between them is not such that one of them can be left out of the picture without serious consequences. Ultimately, they are all dependent on the last factor, the mentality of the people and their customs.

The ideal of government presumably exists in those who rule. But it must exist over and above all in the people.

The starting point for achieving the ideal of good government is a change in the people's attitudes
by **MANUEL L. QUEZON, Jr.**

OUR UNDEMO

This is not a case of high-toned idealism, it is a practical and unavoidable necessity.

It is impossible for the ideal of government to be anything but a mockery unless that ideal is held by the people. It is not enough that those who rule should be sincerely convinced of the ideal. If a sufficient part of the people do not go along with the ideal, the business of government becomes a very precarious matter. Sooner or later it is bound to grind to a halt.

Furthermore, it is not enough that the people be committed to the ideal nominally; they must have more than a mere inkling of what the ideal is.

If, for example, the people were to be vocal in their commitment to democracy, but by democracy they understand the absence of any and all authority — a kind of condition of every man for himself — obviously the ideal of democracy will be impossible of attainment. (Let no one say that the example chosen is absurd. Implicitly, it is the idea of democracy entertained by many.)

The constitutional and legal embodiment of the ideal of government will also be a farce if the mentality of the people is opposed to it, or simply indifferent. The attempt to import British constitutionalism into several European countries has been a colossal failure, either because it ran counter to the way of thinking of the people, or simply because they could not understand it and,

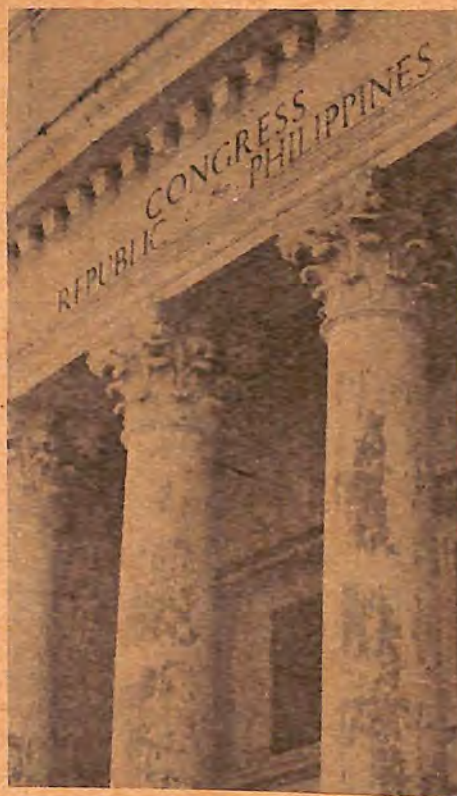
therefore, could at best be indifferent and apathetic. One does not have successful government based on indifference and apathy.

The reduction of constitution and laws to practice almost brings us to the question of the mentality itself, for its possibility depends on the customs of the people and their way of looking at things.

The Federal laws against racial discrimination have been well-nigh unenforceable in the Southern states: all sorts of strong-arm methods on the part of the Federal government have been necessary and even then have not always been successful. In fact, it is generally pointed out in discussions on the subject that a change of mentality on the part of the Southerners is necessary before the anti-discrimination laws can really bear fruit. In any country where the holding of public office is looked upon as a means of enrichment, not only by the officeholders but also by the general public, laws against that sort of



STUDIES OF THE GAP BETWEEN OUR



ernment, it is the mentality of the people which should provide the starting point. The ideal of government should be drawn from the what the people look upon as an ideal. When that is not possible, because the people have no ideal of government — as in the case of savages — or because their ideal of government is unacceptable — such as Imperial Japan of pre-World War II days — the ideal of government to be set up in its place must be very carefully studied, so as to introduce as little friction as possible.

The example of Japan cited may raise some eyebrows and be considered the very denial of our contention, since the democratic ideal is very far indeed from that of Emperor worship, and popular sovereignty from that of the Emperor as being the holder of all sovereignty.

I shall be content to point out that it is possible for a country to have a government democratic in form and yet not be democratic in reality. That such is the case in Japan is the opinion of a number of serious students of post-war Japanese government. There are powerful forces at work in Japanese society which make the democratic ideal only partially operative — the strength of tradition, the kind of hold which employers have over their employees, the attitude of politicians toward government and government positions, the resurgence of the enormous companies with their unavoidable influence on government, the not very satisfactory condi-

thing are a dead letter.

The mentality of the people is, therefore, in the last analysis the factor of overriding importance in making the ideal, its embodiment, and practice come together to make for successful, efficient government.

Indeed, although we started our discussion from the factor of the ideal gov-



IDEAL OF GOVERNMENT (HEADED BY PRES. MARCOS, ABOVE) AND OUR POLITICAL PRACTICES EXPLAIN WHY OUR NATION IS A FAILURE

CRATIC MENTALITY

tion of political parties, etc.

How much of a shift in the Japanese mentality is to be expected is of course debatable. The mere dying off of the older generations and the coming to maturity of younger generations is no guarantee, since there is a noticeable trend all over the world for people to be less and less interested in government and to be more and more exclusively interested in money-making, without which the advances of science which make contemporary life so comfortable and luxurious cannot be taken advantage of.

What is the Filipino mentality in regard to government? I do not think our mentality is substantially democratic, except insofar as every human being's mind and heart may be said to be democratic, because deep down in every human being there is some kind of yearning for freedom. But in countless instances, despite our protestations of our democratic convictions and commitment, we show that the opposite is the case. A look back on our history will show why.

Our pre-Spanish society was made up of three classes — slaves, freemen, and nobles. An aristocratic society, in other words. It was not what the Europeans call an absolute monarchy — it seems that a more highly developed state of affairs is necessary for that. The long years under Spanish rule did nothing to destroy the social mentality that went with such a pre-Spanish society, although the legal status of slave had

been abolished.

I can remember very well the pre-war relationship of servants to masters — from what I have read of the relationship between slave and master in pre-Spanish days, I gather there was not much difference between the two relationships.

Before any of my readers feel indignant at this observation, let me point out that the type of slavery to which our minds spontaneously turn when the word is mentioned is the Roman and the American type. That kind of slavery seems never to have existed on our shores.

Slaves were truly part of the household, part of the family — at least so our older historians assured us. It was a very strongly paternalistic relationship. Obviously, that sort of relationship, although it may at times be very touching when found in master and servant, transforming the relationship into one of parent and child, is hardly conducive to the kind of relationship of equality which a democratic mentality thrives on.

The general reliance of the Filipino on the wisdom and goodness of those above him on the political, social, and economic ladder, which was transferred from the maginoo class to the Spanish rulers, then to the American rulers, finally to the Filipinos who replaced them, is also, to say the least, not very conducive to a truly democratic mentality and democratic attitudes.

This explains in large part why so

many of our politicians, when holding office, do not really feel that they can be called to account for any of their actions. It also explains why public office and public property are so often treated as personal belongings, almost as something which is by right in the family.

Thus, we hold on to a title long after the position has been relinquished. The manner in which we treat our public officials is another indication of an undemocratic mentality — we refer to them very impertinently when they are not around, and yet when they do make an appearance, we practically fall on our faces before them. It is not the dignified respect which implies self-respect.

The insufferable manners of those who manage to climb up the ladder of success, the way in which they try to lord it over those under their authority or below their position in the community, show how undemocratic we really are in our outlook.

Some will of course say that the aggressiveness of the underprivileged Filipino is a proof of the spread of a truly democratic mentality. I challenge the allegation.

The aggressiveness of the underprivileged Filipino is no different from that of his fellow countrymen, only aggravated — it is of the chip-on-the-shoulder variety, which again is not indicative of the self-assurance as to equality which is part and parcel of the democratic

mind.

Perhaps if truly serious studies were made of the gap between our ideal of government and our Constitution, on the one hand, and our political practices and our mentality, on the other, it would become clear why our government is and has been a failure in many respects. It would then be easier to assess the situation in order to make whatever adjustments are necessary to make our democratic ideals a reality, instead of something we run after yet never quite seem to grasp. It would be possible to bring our mentality fully in line with our professed ideals.

It is only the development of a genuinely democratic mentality which will protect us from the horrible temptation of a society which allows for no differences at all, no personal initiative free from state control, and no individual distinctions based on natural and acquired gifts on the one hand; and deliver us from the present situation, in which our undemocratic mentality continually obstructs our democratic aspirations. For aspirations there are, and the change in our mentality was started long ago, but unless we are very sensible about this whole business, and relentlessly pursue our goal of a truly democratic mentality based on the deep conviction of our God-given equality as human beings, with all it implies both of sameness and of diversity, we shall not merely fail to progress — we shall end in tragedy.—#

KUWENTONG KUTSERO

by NARCISO PIMENTEL, JR.



Thoughts on carnapping

● THE PRESIDENT is on the warpath. The target this time: carnappers. To us car owners with or without drivers, this of course is most welcome news. At long last, the powers that be at Malacañang have awakened to the fact that there are crimes other than smuggling which are being perpetrated with ever-increasing brazenness.

Even as I am writing this piece, my mind is only half with me working hard at this arduous business of creating nonsense; the other half is out where my car is, keeping vigil over it, worrying about the hub-caps, the door-locks, the windows, in fact, the whole car. When I finish this column and go down to bring this to the GRAPHIC will I still find my car parked where I left it two hours ago?

Or will I find it gone? Will I then have to go looking for the policeman in the corner who is never there when things like carnappings happen? And will he answer me with the usual blank stare: I don't know. I didn't see any car-naper, carnapping, or even car. And so will I have to report the case to the corresponding precinct and then wait patiently for contact to be established with the carnappers in Rizal, Bulacan, Laguna, or Cavite? Will I have to go crazy for days running down clues, hints, tips, messages, and notes that my car had been seen cruising along Rizal Avenue, that it had been espied parked in front of the Jai Alai, that it had been tailed to Tagaytay and then lost somewhere along the way, that it had been sighted in Bicol, Samar, Davao, and Cotabato, that it had been detected at the pier one day and the next that it had been discovered in Hongkong being driven by some belated Filipino Christmas shoppers?

Or will I receive a ransom note together with my mail saying: Your car is safe. But it will not be safe for long unless and until you come across with P10,000. If interested, call Precinct 7 which will put you in immediate contact with us. Or, will it be a mysterious-looking man sidling up to me suddenly out of the shadows and whispering gruffly: Don't look around now. And don't make a false move, or you're a goner. It's about your car. It's safe with us. We haven't touched it at all. But if you want it back, you'll have to

fork over P10,000. If interested, you can get in touch with us again through the LTC.

And will a long period of haggling and bargaining with the carnappers ensue? Will I finally be able to jew them down to one half of their asking price? Will I get their final instructions on just what money denominations to get, how to wrap the ransom money in an old newspaper, how to put it in a cardboard box, tie it with a string, drive with it down to Paco cemetery, and leave it in an abandoned niche there? After doing all this, will I eventually get my car back? Or, will I, as often happens in this day and age, lose both the ransom money and my car?

How can I know the answer to all these questions unless I first go down and find out if my car is still where I left it? But I am only half way through writing



this column. I can't very well put this off until later, what with deadlines changed to earlier dates. And yet, even if I do go down and board my car, what can prevent a couple of carnappers dressed in coat and tie and lugging a James Bond attache case (like those that held up Gloria Romero's driver and took off with her car in front of ABS-CBN the other day) from holding me up at the point of a vicious-looking gun and driving off with my car to only God knows where? And how am I to know if that place (that only God knows) is where they give stolen cars

such a face-lifting in a matter of just a few hours that not even the original manufacturers of the car can recognize it afterwards even if they examine it with a high-powered lens? How can I tell if in a few days I will not be approached by a fast-talking second-hand car salesman offering me my own "face-lifted" car, complete with a new car plate issued by the Land Transportation Commission, at the tempting price of P3000?

But granting the remote possibility that when I go down my car is still there where I left it. Granting that I am able to drive away without being molested by gun-toting carnappers, what can prevent another car from suddenly and without any rhyme or reason bumping into mine on some relatively deserted road or highway without really causing any real damage to my car but with sufficient force to make me stop and go down to inspect the rear of my car in search of dents? Now what can prevent at that precise moment the driver and passengers of the car that bumped into mine from turning out to be gun-toting carnappers who suddenly poke their guns into my ribs and make off with my car leaving me helpless and hopeless in the middle of the lonely road?

I should have left the car at home. I should never have brought it down town. Cars are to be seen and admired and cherished; never to be used or ridden in . . . at least, not in this country. But where at home do I leave the car so it won't get stolen? Certainly not the garage; that's where many cars get stolen from, even in Forbes Park. It's all right when I'm home; at least then I can sleep next to the garage and wake up every hour on the hour to check on the car. But leave it in the garage in the care of the household help when I am not there? Never!

How do I get car protection, for heavens' sake? Insurance? All right, so I insure my car, and when it gets stolen, as it certainly will, I get the insurance money. But I don't want the money. I want my car.

Does being a policeman help? But police cars have been stolen. And the other day carnappers reportedly made off with the car of an expert in police matters, graduate of the FBI and now a congressman. And how true is the scuttlebutt I hear that one of the several cars of the Vice-President was stolen?

It is about time the President declared war on carnappers. Who knows? The next victim might be he himself!—#

Oct 19, 1966



Panganib ng Bayan

Sinulat ni
MANUEL L. QUEZON, JR.

● MAGSABI ka na ang ating bayan ay nasa panganib at ma-aaring mag-wakas, at kaagad-agad sasabihin ng mga iba na kulang ka sa pagkamakabayan.

Tila dapat sabihin na, hindi man natin mahulaan kung pa-paano, makaliligtas din sa mga suliranin at panganib ang ating bayan at iigi rin ang lahat balang araw.

Nilililang natin ang ating sarili kung gayon ang ating paniwala.

Sa kasaysayan ng daigdig, nababasa natin kung gaano karami ang mga bayan na datidati'y maginhawa't makapangyarihan, na ngayo'y hindi na matatagpuan sa ibabaw ng lupa.

Oktubre 19, 1966

Nababasa natin sa Bibliya ang mga gawa ng kaharian ng Asirya, na sumakop sa napakaraming bansa sapagka't ito'y makapangyarihan. Mahigit na 2000 taon nang nawala sa kasaysayan ang Asirya.

Isa pang halimbawa. Halos ang buong Europa, ang gawing hilaga ng Aprika at ang bahagi ng Asya na tinatawag na "New East" ay naging nasa ilalim ng pamahalaan ng Roma. Nguni't mahigit nang isang libong taon ang nakalipas na wala na ang Imperio Romano.

Dalawang halimbawa pa na may kaugnayan sa sarili nating kasaysayan — ang kaharian ng Srivijaya at ang kaharian ng

Madjapahit, na sumakop sa ilang bahagi ng ating lupa sa lumipas na panahon, ay wala na rin.

Wala tayong maipagyayabang na katangian sa ibang bayan, na maging dahilan upang makaasa tayo na, anuman ang mangyari at anuman ang ating gawin, magpapatuloy at mabubuhay din ang ating bansa.

Bawa't bansang ginamit nating panghalimbawa ay pangwang bumagsak dahil sa masamang palakad o sa pagsama ng kanilang kaugalian. Kundi unang humina ang mga naturang bayan, hindi sana sila madalang nadaig ng mga nanglusbob o kusang nagkahati-hati.

KUWENTONG KUTSERO

by NARCISO PIMENTEL, JR.



Dial M for miracle!

● COMPLAINTS against the telephone service are by now proverbial. In fact, they are so proverbial they have given birth to a spate of jokes in the community. One friend, for instance, the other day, complaining about how difficult it is to establish contact with anyone through the telephone, was saying: "It's gotten to the point, my friend, where I have stopped using the phone altogether."

"You've had it disconnected?" I asked listlessly.

"No, I still keep it as a status symbol."

"A symbol of what status?"

"The status quo."

The point of the joke eludes me up to now, because frankly I cannot say that I have stopped using the phone altogether. On the contrary, today I use the phone more times per call than I used to before. In fact, I have noticed that my use of the phone has increased in inverse proportion to the number of calls I make each day. I must admit that if I used to make 50 calls a day before, now I make only five calls a day or 10 times less. Yet, to make those five calls I have to use the phone 50 times more or 10 times five times more. Typically, these exemplify, more or less, the 10 times I use the phone to put through one call:

First Time: I pick up the phone, and even before dialing my number I hear the busy signal. I wait a while, because sometimes when you're lucky the busy signal just simply disappears and suddenly the dial tone is heard. But most of the time the wait is fruitless, so I put down the receiver.

Second Time: After dialing the first digit of the telephone number I want to call, I hear the busy signal. I continue dialing up to the last digit . . . with the same result. So I put down the receiver.

Third Time: Gingerly I dial the first digit of the telephone number. The dial tone disappears. No busy signal. Good. Reassured, I dial the second digit. Still no signal. Wonderful. More boldly this time, I dial the third digit nonchalantly. Then it happens. Busy signal. I retreat.

Fourth Time: This time I am able to dial all the digits of the number. But the result is the same. Busy signal. What can I do if my party is busy? Let's wait, what else.

Fifth Time: After the wait, I pick up the phone again, but this time I hear somebody dialing. Must be my party line. I retreat again discreetly.

Sixth Time: After another wait (which this time is rather long to make due allowance for my long-winded party line) I take up the receiver to find out that my



party line is more long-winded than usual. So I hang up for an extended wait.

Seventh Time: I lift up the receiver softly so as not to unduly disturb my party line. Eureka! No party line. Just the welcome buzzing sound of the dial tone. Quickly I dial my number, and then settle down to wait for my party as I hear the intermittent rings calling the other phone. No one answers. I wait some more, patiently. Still no answer. I decide to check up.

Eighth Time: I dial 03 (the telephone

company's complaint department) three times. Three times it's busy. So I dial 05 to complain about the complaints department. The girl there tells me she only attends to orders for telephone service, payments, listing, etcetera. I dial 04 for information on how to get 03, and the girl there says: "Simple. You insert your index finger in hole marked 0, turn it clockwise and let go. Then you insert your finger in hole marked three, turn clockwise and let go." I hold my temper and decide to go back to my number. (*Nota Bene:* I realize this is a little bit of cheating, because this Eighth Time is really equivalent to many times; but I do hate to embarrass the Telephone Company.)

Ninth Time: After dialing the full number, there is no busy signal, there is no ringing, there is only a couple of crossed party lines conversing in very fast Chinese. I hang up and wait again.

Tenth Time: I pick up the phone once more and to my utter amazement, a voice from the deep dark and mysterious recesses of that black contraption says distinctly: "Hello." I answer: "Hello," and the following conversation ensues:

"Whom do you want to talk to?"

"Are you kidding? I just picked up the phone, never even dialed, and there you were on the line saying: Hello. Whom do you want to talk to?"

"What a coincidence! I had done just that: picked up the phone without dialing, and I just felt someone was on the line, so I said: Hello."

"Say . . . You know, your voice somehow sounds familiar. Are you by any chance Nonong?"

"Why, yes! How did you know? And wait . . . Who are you? Pim?"

"Yes, by gosh, I've been trying to call you up for the last 30 minutes."

"So have I you, man! And at long last, without dialing, by just picking up the phone at exactly the same time, mysteriously, we finally got connected."

"That's right . . . Isn't the telephone a wonderful invention!"

"In fact, it is a miracle!"—#

02. 5, 1966

"The patient man is better than the valiant; and he that ruleth himself than he that taketh cities." — The Holy Bible.

● PATIENCE is one of the virtues easiest to preach and one of the most difficult to practice. In Spanish and English it is preached with one word: "Paciencia," "Patience," in colloquial Tagalog, with two: "Kaunting pasiensia." Everyone understands exactly what it means — or so it seems.

We make an appeal for it under all sorts of conditions and for all sorts of reasons. The noble man and the virtuous demands it, the good man and the saintly pleads for it, and for the same reason: nobility, virtue, genuine goodness, and that highest point achievable by man — authentic sanctity — cannot exist without it. The mature man expects patience because maturity without patience is impossible. Patience is in fact a true test of character.

Patience can, however, be a subterfuge for less laudable sentiments. A coward may disguise his cowardice as patience when it is his duty to act — a man who fails to defend his daughter who is being unjustly attacked, an official who does not crack down on the misbehavior of his subordinates, an influential citizen who fails to speak out against wrong, a priest who fails to rise in defense of religion. In these cases, we are dealing, not with patience, but with its perversion. A plea for patience can also be a means for the perpetration of injustice and oppression. It is the latter with which I am presently concerned.

Anyone with eyes and ears and a conscience only needs to look about him to see that there is something seriously wrong with our society. Our principles, our ideals, and the legal apparatus to support them are fine.

Democracy, equal opportunity for all, equality before the law, freedom of this, that, and the other. Fine, fine in theory, beautiful in speeches, resplendent in writing. But does not the reality of life make a mockery of all these things?

Democracy, when a landlord may control the votes of all his tenants — or else? Equality of opportunity, when "pull" may place an incompetent at the head of the line and never even allow the fully qualified but backer-less individual a distant glimpse of the post to which he aspires? Equality before the law, when an influential politician can effectively block the operation of justice, to the chagrin of the law-enforcement agencies, while a poor citizen pays the full penalty for his crimes?

Taking a broader view of our society, does not the chasm between rich and

poor, between the educated and the barely literate masses operate to nullify whatever legal and democratic safeguards our system takes such pains to safeguard? In a word, do not the blatant economic and social inequalities of our country tend to make our free and just democratic society a farce instead of a reality? And what, all too often, is the sop we throw to the unfortunate members of our society? A sermon on patience.

Well, to a large extent that is the only virtue that our badly situated fellow citizens can practice to meet such conditions — patience.

Patience so that they will not take the law into their own hands and only make matters worse, not better. Patience, so that they will not be guilty of the same injustice of which they are the victims, for an injustice is never righted by committing another injustice. Patience, in the exercise of self-restraint, so that the bounds of moral and legal justice may not be exceeded. True, interior patience, so that their consciences may remain clean, although their hands and bodies may be dirty, with the dirt of poverty and humiliation.

But there is a broad area within which patience would not be patience — it would be apathy at best, at worst cowardice. That is the area of the exercise of legal and political rights. It is the use of the law and the ballot, the peaceful but forceful expression of public opinion, to bring about an equitable state of affairs, to dethrone corruption at the polls and support intelligence, integrity, and dedication.

I am not one to use the United States of America as the perfect model of democracy, since it is not. There is one American habit, however, which we could imitate very profitably. It is the habit of writing to one's representative in Congress. The courts of law exist for the redress of legal grievances, but Congress is a resort, not just a last but often a first or only resort, for the remedying of ills. Let a measure of importance, if not for the country as a whole, at least for a section of the country, be contemplated, and Senators and Congressmen are deluged with letters from their constituents.

It is not merely the United States Congress which is subjected to this sort of democratic pressure from the people — any and all public authorities are bombarded with mail as occasion may demand. Indeed, even private companies and organizations are subjected to the same treatment. Open letters to the press are a very common vehicle for ex-

pressing satisfaction or dissatisfaction with a situation.

Such a procedure serves more than one useful purpose: it is a safety-valve for pent-up emotions, it allows authorities and private groups to feel the public pulse, and above all it serves warning on the authorities that the ultimate human repository of civil authority — the people — is keeping a sharp eye on the goings-on and will not tolerate a cynical disregard of public opinion. It would take a calloused person indeed to disregard an avalanche of letters for or against a measure. And all this is done democratically, completely within the pale of the law, and without a trace of that attitude fatal to the democratic process: "After all, what can I do about it?"

Certainly, if the average poor and underprivileged Filipino citizen (and the average citizen is poor and underprivileged) were to take to the mails, as it were, we could look forward to a marked improvement in our society, an improvement which would be felt where it is needed most — among those who lead a hand-to-mouth existence, or little better.

But the question of patience has special relevance for the upper crust of our society. The preaching of patience to the depressed classes comes with very poor grace from those who are in a position to do something to alleviate the lot of the poor and fail to do so.

Not A Matter Of Contributions

Actually, it is not merely a matter of giving contributions to charity. Many good souls do so, not only among the wealthy but also among those belonging to the middle and even lower income bracket. Some do so from unworthy motives, no doubt, but it would take a most unjust mind to attribute other than worthy motives to the immense majority — a genuine sympathy for the suffering and a desire to alleviate their lot.

However, economic inequalities have grown so great that something more than individual help is required. Individual help must not stop — God forbid! Over and above individual help, however, a true conversion, a true change of heart, a new outlook is required, productive of a concerted effort to solve our problems through heroic efforts if need be. The every-man-for-himself attitude, the child of laissez-faire economics, has got to go. The notion of free enterprise must be, not destroyed, but subordinated to the most fundamental concept of society and public authority, which is the common good.

It is considered a truism that, in the last analysis, it is not so much the type of government or economy, as the men who run it; not so much the laws as the men who administer them, that make for a good or bad society.

In a sense, of course, it is true: no matter how perfect the form of government, no matter how perfect the laws, if the people in control are wicked, dishonest, of conscience, or not capable, the outcome will be a disaster. Society may blunder through such a situation and survive — it often does — but at frightful cost.

But supposing that we have a good type of government (which we do) and good men to run it, supposing that those who largely control the economy are capable men, are we assured of the necessary good results? I seriously doubt it — at least if we mean by good and capable men those who are such solely according to the excessively individualistic model of the old free enterprise, dog-eat-dog system.

The classical free enterprise system exists today only in countries where democracy is a farce and progress the privilege of a few rather than the birthright of all. The freest and also most progressive democracies today have a directed economy in one form or another, much as they may dislike the term "directed economy." Modern economy is so complex and its various elements are so intertwined, both within each country and in relation to the economy of the rest of the world, that it has been found necessary to introduce a degree of planning and direction, in accordance with the particular needs of each country.

In the Social and Christian Democratic countries of Europe, the fact is obvious; less obviously, the United States of America, with its clarion-call for free enterprise, has found an increasing amount of government vigilance and regulation necessary for its economy. Notwithstanding Barry Goldwater and Company, the effect has been to strengthen, not weaken, the free enterprise system by protecting it from the excesses which have threatened to destroy it in the past.

Some experiments in planned economy have not been entirely successful and in some instances governments have gone too far or moved too fast and had to move back in certain respects, but by and large the movement has been a success.

It may surprise some well-meaning but not very well-informed Catholics to hear that the Church, which has often and again condemned Communism, had very harsh things to say about

PATIENCE AND THE SOC

by MANUEL L. QUEZON, Jr.

ical Capitalism.

Leo XIII, who exposed and condemned Marxism in his Encyclical "Quod Apostolici Muneris," was the same Pope who wrote "Rerum Novarum," (in English, "On the Condition of the Working Class") which pilloried the old style capitalism in no uncertain terms. Pius XI around half a century later wrote a scathing condemnation of "Atheistic Communism" and also brought up to date Leo's Encyclical on the laboring classes with his "Quadragesimo Anno."

Pope John XXIII in two Encyclicals, "Mater et Magistra" and "Pacem in Terris" again brought up to date, not the principles taught by his predecessors for they are timeless, but their application to contemporary conditions. What are those timeless principles?

If I may be so bold as to put them in capsule form, they are the central fact that the world is meant to serve man so that man may serve God. Both materialistic Communism and materialistic old style Capitalism contradict that fact. Any social system, any governmental system which grinds some or most men into the dust instead of lifting them up is destructive of the very order of nature and of things and contrary to the teaching of the Church and of sound reason. Any system which fails to respect this true order of things, or which is not oriented toward it, needs to be changed to the degree and extent that nature is violated.

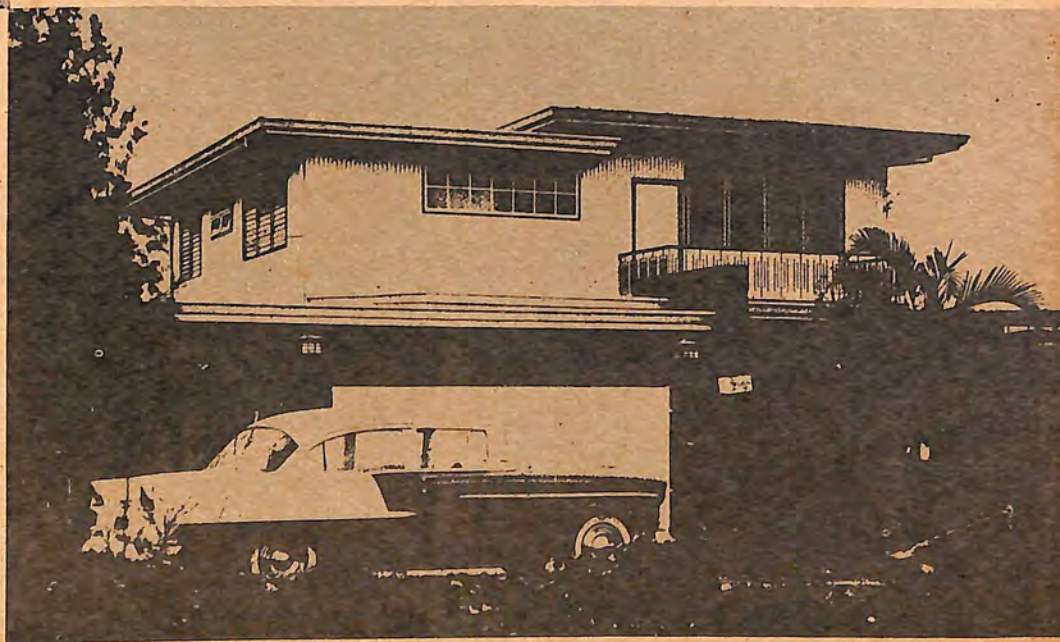
The particular form and speed of change must of course avoid any violation of justice, and avoid the haste which precludes careful study.

Patience in making a careful study, yes; patience in those who must bear with seeming delay which is in reality the avoidance of ill-considered haste, yes. But patience as a refuge for a social conscience which refuses to search itself and face facts and needs honestly, even at the cost of human misery to others — never!

A patient, careful study of our present social and economic system so that the needs of the people, not just of a segment of the population, may be met, is our duty in conscience.

Support of reform within the framework of our democratic system, involving some economic planning and direction freely discussed and freely adopted seems to me an inescapable necessity. Let those who imagine the Communist demon to be lurking under the chair of everyone who favors the elimination of extreme social and economic inequalities beware: some day they may imagine the Communist demon to be lurking under the Chair of St. Peter.—#

A careful study of our social system is our duty in conscience



SOCIAL ORDER

INEQUALITIES

Concerted effort is needed to combat such economic inequalities as shanties (top photo), scroungers (above photo), wasteful parties (upper right), sumptuous mansions (right).

CAN PRIVATE HOSPITALS BE COMPELLED TO ADMIT EMERGENCY CASES

It is up to Congress to pass a law requiring all hospitals to treat,

by M. JAVIER

● MANILA's private hospitals, during the past weeks, have been subjected to public scrutiny and censure due to the alleged refusal of some of them to admit emergency, medico-legal cases, especially among the indigent. Dr. Paulino Garcia, Secretary of Health, publicly announced his intention of going after private hospitals who refuse to admit such emergency cases.

Can private hospitals be forced to admit emergency cases of medico-legal nature?

"No, the government cannot compel a private hospital to admit an emergency case," emphatically stated Dr. Eliodoro Congco, president of the Philippine Hospital Association. "Private hospitals are not under government subsidy and it would be an encroachment upon their rights if they were forced to admit indigent, medico-legal, emergency cases."

Dr. Congco, a member of the National Health Advisory Board and the director of a small private hospital, believes that, at present, there is no law that obliges a private hospital to admit the type of cases in question. He recalled that, many years ago, there was a move to have the government partly subsidize indigent beds in Manila's private hospitals. As a corollary to this idea, a municipal ordinance was proposed compelling private hospitals to admit indigent cases. Since the move for government subsidy fizzled out, nothing was apparently done about the proposed ordinance. Dr. Congco, moreover, believes that the Hospital Licensure Act does not specifically require private hospitals to admit emergency cases regardless of their nature. "In other words," stated the Philippine Hospital Association president, "private hospitals have a choice as to what emergency cases to admit."

The Hospital Licensure Act has been invoked as a means of requiring private hospitals to treat all emergency cases brought to them. What is the Hospital Licensure Act? Also known as Republic

Act No. 4226, it is "an act requiring the licensure of all hospitals in the Philippines and authorizing the Bureau of Medical Services to serve as the licensing agency." It was approved by Congress on June 19, 1965. In compliance with Section 15 of the Act, the Bureau of Medical Services of the Department of Health issued a set of "rules and regulations implementing the provisions of R.A. No. 4226, otherwise known as the Hospital Licensure Act."

Part III, Section 4, paragraph (d) of these rules and regulations states — "Separate facilities shall be maintained for the handling of emergency cases whenever possible." In no other part of the rules implementing the Hospital Licensure Act are emergency cases referred to. The rules and regulations basically deal with the governing body and administration of a hospital, with its basic services (medical, nursing, dietary, etc.), with the required hospital facilities and the physical plant and its maintenance.

If, as the Philippine Hospital Association president stated, private hospitals cannot be compelled by law to admit all types of emergency cases, the fault lies in the omission of any definite ruling on the admission of emergency cases in the regulations implementing the Hospital Licensure Act. It is up to Congress to pass a law requiring all hospitals to treat, if not admit, all emergency cases regardless of their nature. Without this "legal obligation," private hospitals have certain rights and privileges of choice that cannot be encroached upon by the government.

As an example of this freedom of action that a private hospital, not enjoying government subsidy, is entitled to, Dr. Congco cited a situation he had to deal with as president of the Philippine Hospital Association. This was a question of so-called "closed" hospitals. In medical parlance, a "closed" hospital is one wherein only certain selected doctors are allowed to treat the patients confined in it. When a well-known medical

practitioner lodged a protest against a "closed" hospital in the suburbs, the Philippine Hospital Association was forced to intervene. It seems that a serious patient of this medical practitioner was admitted to the "closed" hospital. The attending doctor was denied the privilege of looking after his patient because he was not included in the list of approved physicians of the hos-



ELIODORO CONGCO

"A choice as to what emergency cases to treat or admit."

pital. The Undersecretary of Health informed the Philippine Hospital Association that his office could not compel the hospital to reverse its decision. The "closed" hospital, being private, had the right to choose the doctors who would be allowed to treat the patients confined in it.

Dr. Congco revealed that, as far back as five years ago, he was instrumental in introducing a bill in Congress providing for a government subsidy of a number of beds in private hospitals for the

use of indigent cases. He closely followed the progress of this bill in Congress and he has expressed his disappointment that up to now it has not been passed. He said that government-subsidized, charity beds in private hospitals would enable them to handle all types of emergency cases without having to suffer the inevitable financial losses which most of them can ill afford to have. He emphasized that government support must be given for the whole year round and not only when an indigent case is admitted. This is necessary to offset the financial burden of major surgical interventions which most emergency cases are bound to require.

Since government subsidy applies only to the maintenance of charity beds, the problem of medical fees for services rendered remains to be solved. This is not a problem for the big teaching hospitals of our medical schools. As members of the faculty, their consultant staffs are expected to render free service in the charity wards used for the training of the medical undergraduates. The skilled consultants of non-teaching private hospitals, according to Dr. Congco, are usually willing to charge a minimum fee for services to indigent cases.

But the important question remains — will the private hospitals admit any type of emergency case? The spokesman for a university hospital in a Manila suburb expressed surprise that there should be any difficulty about such a situation. "We have always admitted all types of cases to our emergency room," he stated, "regardless of whether it is an indigent or a paying case or whether it is medico-legal or not." Dr. Congco, speaking as the director of a small private hospital, also answered in the affirmative. "We give at least first-aid treatment to any emergency case brought to our small hospital," he replied. "The problem is that most of the time no vacancy is available due to our limited bed capacity," he added. "In that case we usually escort the patient to the



ON GROWTH

by Dr. ALBERT L. DANIELSEN, University of Georgia

between the United States and the Philippines. In the Philippines 45.7 per cent of the population are under the age of 14, but in the United States 30.6 per cent are less than 14 years old. There is a very significant point here. People who are 14 years old and less are not very productive. In the Philippines, then, 45.7 per cent of the population are not very productive.

In the United States there are nearly two adults for every child. In the Philippines there is only one adult for each child. Children are a blessing, but they are not unmixed blessings.

Each adult Filipino must provide more education than an American if the children are to have an equal education. Each adult Filipino must produce more food, build more houses, weave more cloth, etc., than an American if the children are to have equal facilities.

Filipinos have increased the production of goods and services by about five per cent each year since the end of World War II. But the population has grown 3.2 per cent each year.

In conclusion, I will quote from an extensive study of the Philippines which I recently completed.

"A definite impression emerging from

this study is that Philippine economic growth is a reflection of fundamental and apparently irrevocable forces. Short-run fluctuations should be expected of course, but at least for the next 20 years there is no reason to expect a course much different than in the past 20.

"Many of the Philippine problems with regard to increasing real per capita output emanate from one of the primary demographic (i.e., population) variables. There can be no doubt that economic development would be facilitated by a much lower birth rate. It is equally clear that such a decline will require several more decades of urbanization, industrialization, and increased education similar to that since about 1920. Deliberate birth control on a scale similar to that in Japan since World War II appears extremely unlikely for the Philippines. To a very large extent, increases in total output will continue to facilitate population growth. This clear choice between higher levels of living and large families is recognized by educated urban dwellers since the slight fertility (or birth rate) decline has been affected by this group. The choice should be made more explicit and to more people whenever the opportunity arises."—#

SKIN-DEEP

by GEMMA CRUZ ARANETA



Characters to collect

● LIKE all Sunday afternoons, it was relatively quiet and listless. So, we decided to go out for a drive. On Buendia, we caught up with a turquoise 1957 sedan which was going at snail's pace. Had it been a weekday, it would have caused a horrendous traffic jam.

"What's the matter with this fellow?" my husband wondered.

"Probably thinks he is driving a hearse," I ventured. Out of curiosity, we overtook him to see what the matter was. His hood was thrown open and perched with incredible agility on the side, was another man — presumably a mechanic — trying to fix something in the motor. But all the time, the car was doing about 20! A policeman on the sidewalk saw them, perked up and was about to take out his pad when he suddenly stopped. "Now, what law is that against?" he seemed to ask himself. He scratched the back of his head instead and looked cheated.

* * *

Marilyn and I went to the same school. We were also in the same year but she was taking another course. However, we had some subjects together. She was tall and thin and still wore her grade school hairdo, a flurry of little curls with a small green ribbon on the side. Her face was always clouded by her enormous horn-rimmed spectacles. But her appearance was not the unique thing about her.

Marilyn would never listen in class. She never participated in discussions, never took down notes nor submitted assignments, but she would miraculously pass the examinations. She would attend classes religiously only to read and read her books and never give a thought to what was going on. At first we thought she was just bored (for who did not, at one time or another, take surreptitious snatches at a novel when classes were particularly dull?). But Marilyn would do this during every subject and it was not just surreptitious snatches! She would actually just sit there, take out her book, read and pay no attention to the professor. The professors must have considered her insolent and must have reported her to the dean for she was always seen in the dean's office staring into space with her index finger buried in the pages of a dog-eared book. Still she kept on reading. Finally, the psychology professor, a pleasant and plump nun (a painter, polyglot, social worker who is herself a character to collect) was sent to look after her; to delve into her psyche, I suppose. The nun tried all sorts of techniques, from maternal lectures to creeping stealthily behind Marilyn's back and confiscating her book. Marilyn would just smile her faint, saintly smile of resignation, showing the tips of her enormous front teeth. But she always had another book for the next class, thicker and more dog-eared than the confiscated one.

* * *

Once there was a teacher in political science who, on the first day of class, announced that the book she was going to use was already obsolete but that she was going to use it anyway.

The first half of her lectures was dictations; she would read to us from her obsolete book. The second half was always her commentaries on contemporary affairs not necessarily in the realm of political science. Several times, she would warn us about the adjectives newspapermen use in their stories. Adjectives, according to her, insinuate the writer's own opinions, and that makes biased reporting which was dangerous to our innocent minds. But her favorite topic was her own philosophy and way of life which she tried most earnestly to inculcate in us. She called it the "Golden Middle." It consisted of staying in the safe and sane middle and not being involved with the left or the right, whether extreme or not. It had nothing to do with being neutral which she also considered evil. Toward the end of the year, she suddenly announced that the Philippine revolution was really a misnomer perpetuated by over-eager historians. She said our revolution should be called a rebellion for it did not succeed. I think she was then campaigning for Diosdado Macapagal and his Unfinished Revolution.—#

Nov 2, 1966

November 2, 1966

Many Filipinos still believe the 'white' man is superior to the 'brown' man

● THE STRESSES and strains which any structure can undergo and still survive are limited. The limits may be very broad but they are there.

Society is a kind of structure and, like other structures, has a limited capacity for survival. A society does not fly apart the way a mechanical structure — a machine — may fly apart if made to operate beyond its design limits.

When Oswald Spengler wrote "The Decline of the West," he described what he thought was the downfall of Western society as being like the slow sinking of a ship. The ending of a society may also be conceived of along the lines of a building crumbling, or a steel structure gradually being corroded by rust. However, a society can be split.

The United States was almost permanently split in two pieces, or possibly more, by the American civil war. In standard histories (which are today being questioned by some historians) the causes blamed for the civil war are: increased Federal centralization of power as against States' rights, and the question of slavery.

Whatever the real or ultimate reason may have been, the fact remains that, for a period of four years, the American national society was actually broken in two, the United States of America and the Confederate States, and the breach was healed through a process of conquest and reincorporation.

A hundred years after the end of the civil war, it was made clear, during the struggle for Negro rights, that the southern Confederate mentality has not been laid to rest as completely as the world and the Americans themselves thought.

However, while the structure of American society was not strong enough at the time of the civil war to prevent a temporary split, today it is inconceivable that American society could again break apart. Its structure was too weak in relation to the stresses it had to undergo in 1861, it is far too strong today for any stress — short of armed conquest and forcible dismemberment — to tear it apart.

The United States was less than a hundred years old as a nation at the time of the civil war; more than a hundred years of existence as a people since then have given the necessary, and more than necessary, strength to the national structure to resist any stresses successfully.

The American case has been cited — there are others.

Let us consider the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which existed for a much longer period of time than the United States has up to now. The Empire was divided up at the end of World War I into its component parts.

The United States and the Confederate States might very well have grown together into one nation again even had the Confederacy won the civil war. The former components of the Austro-Hungarian Empire have shown no tendency to grow back into one. Apparently, there

ly under a politically independent government.

To make matters worse, American and other foreign influences have so strongly overshadowed our independent national life that — to me, at any rate — it is not limpidly clear whether or not the colonial mentality is advancing or regressing.

We are conscious of being a people, yes, but are we conscious of being a free, independent people? Some material instances may lead us to doubt.

For example, when a car stops to pay at the toll gate approaching Baguio,

the retail trade, which is intended to make the Filipino master in his own house. But will that automatically make him *feel* master of his own house? I doubt it.

However, I do not intend to discuss the means of eliminating the colonial mentality as a whole. I intend here to point out a strange defect in the structure of our society, which is intimately bound with the colonial mentality. It adds to the weakening of our society and thus threatens it. Each weakness may not of itself give cause for concern, but, taken together with others may erode our society and cause it to crumble.

I have discussed in my Filipino article, *Mga Panganib ng Bayan* (in two parts, *GRAPHIC PILIPINO*, Oct. 19 and 26), the three great dangers to our society — extreme economic imbalance, a collapse of morals, and the loss of faith and principles. Ultimately — and, for that matter, very immediately — the three are interrelated, since the present extreme economic inequalities and the collapse of morals can be attributed to only one thing — the loss of faith and principles. Otherwise, we could never allow such an economic situation or a breakdown in morals. I shall not discuss the matter here, except to point out that the three together are quite sufficient to end our existence as a stable national society.

Our national cohesion is also weakened by a very strange manifestation of the colonial mentality — racism. It is of course not the Nazi type of racism. Truly colonial, it is a racism in reverse.

When we read of racial disturbances in other lands, we are justly indignant; we are being more than a little absurd when we have feelings of self-righteousness as a result. It is wicked and stupid enough for one people to look down on another; it is more stupid for a people to look down on it itself; to do both And that is exactly what we do.

Do we look down on others for reasons of race? As a rule, I do not think we explicitly argue that the Mongoloid and Negroid races are inferior — although I have had the shocking experience of hearing some Filipinos do so. However, remarks derogatory of Negroes and Mongoloids — Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, etc. — are so common that they indicate very clearly a racist turn of mind. It is wicked and stupid; in one way or another, it weakens man

PHILIPPINE RACISM

was no process of formation of a true national consciousness which would survive divisive forces. The various peoples constituting the Empire retained a sense of separate identity despite their unification under the Emperor.

All this may seem irrelevant to any discussion of the Philippine national structure. It is not, at least not entirely.

Although our consciousness of being Filipinos is apparently quite strong, our consciousness of being Ilocanos or Tagalogs or Bicolanos or Visayans or from the Muslim areas is still very much in the forefront of our minds.

It was Rizal who expressed the belief that the Filipino national consciousness arose only with the execution of Fathers Burgos, Gomez, and Zamora in the 1870's. Assuming that Rizal was correct, that means a national consciousness less than a hundred years old, of which only 20 have been uninterrupted.

the rider's eye is met by a sign enumerating the vehicles exempted from paying the toll. The vehicles belonging to the Armed Forces of the United States are listed ahead of the vehicles belonging to the Armed Forces of the Philippines. I wonder how many have even noticed, and of those who have, how many have reacted with disgust, or at least displeasure?

The vestiges of the colonial mentality — if we wish to call it that — may be looked upon by those who give it any thought at all as being of minor importance, something that will disappear with time and of its own accord, as it were. In my judgment, this is a mistake.

The colonial mentality constitutes a weakness in the structure of our national society which we can ill afford.

A good deal of legislation has been passed, such as the nationalization of



by **MANUEL L. QUEZON, Jr.**

and man's activities. But the weakening effect on our social structure is not so immediate and it is the latter which concerns us here.

Our looking down on ourselves is a different matter. Do we look down on ourselves? Let us see.

From the standpoint of beauty, what do we consider a handsome man or a beautiful woman? Filipino features and Filipino coloring — a good, healthy brown — never attract admiration among us.

A light-skinned man or woman with Filipino features will be called, respectively, "simpatico" or "simpatica." A dark-skinned person with more or less good Caucasian features may be called good-looking, *kaya lang maitim*.

A fair-skinned person with mediocre or rather good Caucasian features will immediately be called maganda. It is still common to hear "mestizo" used as a synonym for good-looking. "Ay, mestizong-mestizo" is supposed to be a compliment.

Our movie-idols — excepting the comedians, of course, who are not expected to be good-looking — are really all mestizo types, light-skinned.

Leopoldo Salcedo was in his day a notable exception, since he was dark, but his features, particularly his high nose, had a strong Caucasian cast.

Why, it is almost necessary not to look like one's own countrymen in order to be considered good-looking by them!

Apart from the situation and examples cited above, we abound in remarks which indicate the same frame of mind.

It is common enough to hear people say that so-and-so looks like a house-boy or maid or lavandera or driver. The implication is that people in those occupations — perfectly honorable, let me protest with vehemence and considerable indignation — have, as a rule, Filipino coloring and features and are, therefore, according to that stupid frame of mind, ugly.

Which brings us to a peculiar racial — economic — social observation: features and coloring are often connected with social and economic position and possibilities. There is a clear tendency for this situation to disappear but it is definitely still with us.

We have been accustomed to linking mental stations in life with the average Filipino appearance and upper stations with Spanish or Chinese mestizo types.

The explanation seems to be that such used to be the case generally. While it is not necessarily so today, the thought lingers. It would not be so bad if it were only the thought without practical consequences. But such is not the case. At least, I seem to observe certain things which indicate that such is not the case.

I already pointed out how it seems impossible to crash into the world of Filipino movies unless one fits in with the popular prejudices regarding good looks. Receptionists and other office personnel seem to be selected also with more than a mere glance in the direction of our social preconceptions.

More and more I think I notice the same process at work in the more expensive restaurants, night clubs, stores, etc., although the process is, naturally, less rigorous.

Still, it is disturbing to think that, possibly, someone who needed the job just as badly or even worse may not have gotten it because of his more definitely Filipino appearance.

Which brings me to the last observation I wish to make on the subject: I believe we generally expect the less average-looking Filipino to be more intelligent than the rest. This is a much more subtle mental connection and much more difficult to prove, but I think it is there. If it is there — and I believe it is — it is a sign that we consider ourselves to be less intelligent as a race than lighter skinned ones. This of course reaches the heights — or the depths — of absurdity.

If someone has a preference for one type of features rather than another, he can always plead that beauty is after all, relative and a matter of individual taste, however that taste may have been formed. He has a point at least and, as long as he does not allow it to influence him to the point of being unfair to others because of their inherited appearance, it is not so bad.

Scientific Studies Disprove Theory Of Racial Superiority

To link intelligence and/or ability with race and the mixture of race is an entirely different matter. This is a case of plain and simple irrationality.

All scientific studies have shown that the various races are equal in intelligence and potentialities. The United States being a welter of races, it seemed the ideal testing ground for theories of racial superiority and inferiority.

During World War I, those who enlisted in the armed forces were given tests. The man who devised the tests concluded from the results that at last it had been scientifically proven that the so-called white race was superior. The same man, years later, restudied the question and had the scientific integrity to announce publicly that the tests had, after all, failed to prove anything because decisive factors had not been taken into consideration.

Racism Becomes Barrier To Progress And National Unity

All subsequent scientific research has shown that the human races are equal in intelligence and potentialities. There are highly intelligent, mediocre, and dull persons belonging to every race and they are so, not because they belong to a particular race but because of factors independent of race.

The so-called intelligence tests are really indices of intelligence plus education plus a host of other factors, of which, *very definitely*, race is not one. There are superior and inferior individuals, superior or inferior as to intelligence, talents, achievements, virtues and so on, and these are scattered among all races — there are no superior or inferior races.

This is the firm conclusion of scientific anthropology and other sciences which study man.

Our surviving tendency, therefore, to consider Caucasians as superior to us in intelligence by the mere fact of their being Caucasians is outrageous. Our tendency to be impressed by those who have Caucasian blood in their veins and to take it for granted that they are more intelligent than the Filipino free of such mixture would be funny were it not so disgusting.

Fortunately, in business, government, the arts and sciences, and the professions, competition has gotten so stiff that the alleged superiority of foreign or mixed blood is getting to be a negligible

factor — no one can afford to allow such beliefs to get in the way of getting capable people. But it is still there in a good number of cases.

The importance of the Filipino version of racism lies in this — it weakens the bond uniting Philippine society into a cohesive whole. It easily leads us to overlook possibilities in people just because of their appearance or descent. It leads us to have an almost servile attitude toward Americans and Europeans.

It leads us to be less self-confident as a people, for how can a people be truly self-confident when it believes that it is, by and large, condemned to inferiority by Nature.

How can our society reach the level of social cohesion which it otherwise could have if the members practice or feel discrimination against each other? How can that baneful influence on our national life — the colonial mentality — vanish when we continue to indulge one of its strongest bases — the belief, conscious or unconscious, that we are by nature inferior to others?

A sense of inborn inferiority can only lead to a diminishing of the drive which we so badly need in order to attain that truly dynamic national life which alone can enable the Philippines to survive and progress in the midst of the difficulties we face. As was pointed out earlier, although the smaller individual weaknesses of the structure of our society may, taken separately, be of little importance and have little effect; when they are all taken together they favor the decay of our society.

The particular case of our variety of racism, productive as it is of a weakening of unity and mutual regard and esteem, is certainly an added danger.

It is time we eliminated it by educating the minds of our people and changing their attitudes, not by adopting a pugnacious or haughty spirit, which would only be an inverted complex and would leave that complex basically untouched, but by making them — all of us — realize the truth: that we are all Filipinos, that as a people we have no inborn inferiority, that we have the same inborn potentialities as other people, that what we are and what we shall become depends, under God, on what we make of ourselves.

Turn the glaring light of truth on racism and show it for what it is — a harmful myth.—#



WHEN LOPEZ WAS PRESIDENT

He tackled the problems like a man who had a phobia for failure

by RICARDO V. SERRANO

● VIRTUALLY eclipsed by the successes of President Marcos in his state visits to the United States and Japan were the silent accomplishments of a mild-mannered statesman who wrestled with some of the toughest problems of the country during the 21 days that he acted as President. Vice-President Fernando Lopez amply demonstrated his qualities as a leader as he squared up to the nation's multifarious problems like a man who had high hopes and a great phobia for failure.

The first day of Vice-President Lopez in Malacañang started with a challenge. He had to hammer a compromise between the striking employees and management of the Development Bank of the Philippines, because if the dispute were prolonged, it would affect President Marcos's state visits to the United States and Japan, particularly with regard to his invitation for foreign capital to invest in the country. The DBP is the only government lending institution in the country through which foreign loans are channeled to local investors.

The bank management had brought the case before the Manila Court of First Instance, seeking a ruling on the question of whether the employees of the bank were covered by the regulations of the Civil Service Commission, relative to strikes. On the other hand, the employees union wanted the case to be brought before the Court of Industrial Relations, arguing that the problem involved labor-management relations.

The Vice-President summoned the striking employees and the management officials of the bank to a conference at the music room of the Palace. From then on up to three days later, Lopez stuck to the problem until it was straightened out by the forging of a compromise between the strikers and bank management who jointly signed a return-to-work agreement pending judicial settlement of issues.

For his personal interest in resolving the case, the Vice-President was presented with a resolution of gratitude by the DBP employees.

During his first day at the Palace, the acting President also effected an agreement between PARGO Secretary Bartolome Cabangbang and Undersecretary Rafael Recto to declare a moratorium to their feud during the President's absence.

The two officials, after a half-hour huddle at the Palace with Lopez, agreed to cooperate with each other in the investigation of the sensational copra overshipment case that had been hampered by the protracted rift between them.

The following days in Malacañang became more challenging to Vice-President Lopez as the heavy burden of the Presidency began to bear on his shoulders. The prices of rice and sugar were rising uncontrollably. Manila residents were cursing city government officials for neglecting to repair deep street ruts throughout the city. Car owners and drivers damned the government for irritating traffic snarls caused by excavations on main thoroughfares and side streets in the city. And all this while, graft continued to plague the Bureau of Customs.

On September 15, three days after he assumed the role of caretaker of the government, Lopez ordered the mobilization of the entire resources of the government to extirpate rice hoarding and bring down the price of rice within the easy reach of consumers. The Vice-President called rice producers, millers, distributors, retailers, and officials of all government agencies concerned with the supply and distribution of rice to a conference in Malacañang, and ordered forthwith the immediate milling of all available supply of palay in order to flood the market with the staple. Lopez ordered the full utilization of rolling rice stores in cooperation and coordination with the RCA and local government agencies.

To prevent the channeling of rice to the blackmarket, the Vice-President directed police agencies to conduct close surveillance of rice distribution in Manila and in the provinces.

The following day, September 16, Lopez made a hurried tour of city markets to personally ascertain the efficacy of the RCA rice distribution system. After concluding his tour, he expressed disappointment over the failure of this government agency to deliver rice stocks on time to city market retailers. At the San Andres market, stallholders reported to the Vice-President that they had refused to retail RCA rice because each sack delivered to them in the past had been pilfered by as much as five gantas.

Back in Malacañang, the Vice-President was in an unusually ugly mood as

he fired directives to RCA Chairman Osmundo Mondoñedo to expedite deliveries of rice to city market retailers and to adopt precautionary measures to prevent pilfering of stocks of the precious commodity. He made frequent consultations with rice distribution experts and was in constant conference with the RCA chief.

On Monday morning, September 19, the nefarious practice of blackmarketing RCA rice was found to have been licked. At a breakfast conference in Malacañang with key government officials, it was announced that the commercial varieties of the staple have dropped down in prices by as much as 30 centavos. RCA Chairman Mondoñedo reported that PC soldiers now escort RCA distribution trucks, while members of the Manila Police Department guard city marts in order to prevent RCA supplies from being channeled to the blackmarket.

Early the next day, the Vice-President

slipped out of Malacañang with an aide to see for himself how the government's plan of saturating retail outlets with low-priced RCA rice was being implemented. In the Pasay City market and the Paco market in Manila, the Vice-President received the happy news direct from consumers that the price of commercial varieties of rice had also been stabilized from ₱1.70 to ₱1.50 per ganta. The consumers also told the Vice-President that there was a steady supply of rice in the market.

Apparently satisfied with the way his campaign to stabilize the price of rice was progressing, he proceeded to Malacañang for a breakfast conference with sugar planters, millers, and traders, this time, to chop down the prices of domestic sugar. The Vice-President had earlier received reports that the uptrend in the prices of sugar was due to the manipulation of unscrupulous middlemen and traders.

During the conference which was also



Lopez inspects RCA rice being sold in a Manila market

GRAPHIC

whirlwind of abuse. Yet he stood his ground. In his private as well as in his public life, he had not been known to have cowered before powerful forces; he had not been known to have said one thing and to have done another; he had not been known to have feared being alone and lonely; and he had not been known to have shunned defeat. The essential trait of a great man is moral courage. Don Claro possessed this trait to the highest degree. When, in 1957, at a time when the tenant of Malakan-yang was idolized as the most popular and powerful President the Philippines ever had and, therefore, unbeatable, Don Claro announced his intention to run against him in the presidential election of that year. He was not afraid to be laughed at. Nor to be unpopular. It was not his sanguine hope to win the presidential election; it was, rather, his wish to campaign on the only platform that all candidates to the presidency have to this day shunned: Filipino nationalism. It would be naive to suppose that Don Claro harbored the illusion that he could topple the popular peripatetic President from his entrenched position. Far from it. He knew he would be defeated; nevertheless he had to face the popular man not only, as I have intimated, to disseminate his nationalistic ideas during the presidential campaigns, but also to show up the cowardice of those who thought of the presidency in terms of naked power, and to prove that there was at least one man in this confused Republic who could stand up to a Caesar. Where everybody cowered, he stood defiant and fearless, proud of the tradition of the Batangueño *tirongs*.

Breathes there a man . . . —#

TO

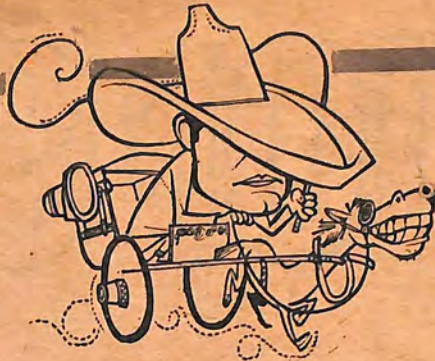
Throughout this campaign, while relaxing or while having bull sessions with his leaders, I joined in the small group that had gathered around him who listened and agreed with his ideas.

Being a man of distinct intellectual achievement, he often spoke above the head of the common crowd. It was necessary for him to have intermediate leaders who would interpret his ideas to the student or to the laborer. I saw myself as one of these intermediate leaders and by sheer experience, I know how well received his ideas are among the people.

Today, students have taken up much of his nationalism and there are leaders advocating Recto ideas in the campuses of the UP, the Lyceum, the MLQ, the FEU, the UE, the Abad Santos Educational Institute, the Adamson University, and the FEATI. Many of them are grouped into the organization known as Kabataang Makabayan.

Young people realize their tremendous responsibility to make our country Filipino again. There are great odds against the achievement of Recto's goals, but the rising surge of nationalism cannot be helped.

The crusade is still Recto's. We have merely taken up the torch which he laid down when he departed — and we are deeply honored with the task. —#



KUWENTONG KUTSERO

by NARCISO PIMENTEL, JR.

This nation can regret again

● MY CONGRESSIONAL Reporter named Pete who writes news *a la Time* submitted a report on the state of the nation address of President Marcos, which is more a reaction than a report. I thought you'd get a kick reading it, so I append it here for your delectation.

SPEAKING before a joint session of Congress, the youthful-looking, nattily dressed President Ferdinand E. Marcos delivered his state of the nation address. Sweeping the crowded floor of Congress with an eagle-eye, which was as glittering as it was penetrating, he announced in grave and solemn tones: "The nation is in crisis!"

You are telling me, Mr. President!

Why, just the other day I picked up the phone to make an important call. My party-line was on the line talking endlessly to another party. "We are in crisis, Laura," she was saying. . . "Why? you ought to know why. . . What? You don't know? . . . Well, I'll tell you. My husband has an *ad interim* appointment given him by Macapagal. . . Congratulations, my eye! The special session of Congress closed, and my husband's appointment was not confirmed. . . Wait for the regular session, you say? We don't have to. Marcos has already appointed another man to the same position as my husband's. . . And now. . . we are. . . in crisis!"

At this point I decided to interrupt.

"Look, lady, if you don't hang up now, I will be in crisis myself!"

And talking about crises, consider the plight of the president of one of the more prestigious civic organizations, whose main duty is to produce a Cabinet member or some important government official as guest speaker in their weekly luncheons. "I'm in crisis, man," the prexy wailed, "in ka-risis!"

"But why?" I asked innocently. "I thought it was only the nation that was in crisis."

"Well, I am, believe it or not. I had my whole line-up of speakers for our weekly luncheons all ready for the year 1966. First, I was going to start with the bureau directors, then the undersecretaries, then the Cabinet secretaries themselves. But now, oh blasted luck, my line-up is all shot to pieces."

"Somebody shot all bureau directors and Cabinet members?"

"Not shot; but shut them up. . . for one hundred days. And so I have no speakers, and I'm in crisis."

Well, if he thought he was in crisis, think of the Cabinet members and bureau directors themselves who cannot now be guest speakers for one hundred days. If I know my Cabinet members and bureau directors, shut them up for even 10 days, and, brother, they are in crisis!

And what about newspapermen and newspapers? Are they in crisis, boy, but are they! Now that President Marcos has ordered a news black-out on all investigations of government anomalies, irregularities, and other high crimes, what are newspapermen and newspapers going to write about? If there are no sensational investigations to scream about in the headlines,

who will buy newspapers at all?

One newspaperman of my acquaintance was complaining about this quite bitterly: "There ought to be a law against news black-outs on government investigations. They're evil, low-down, dastardly. . . in fact, downright unconstitutional!"

"I believe what they're trying to avoid is trial by publicity."

"Fiddlesticks! Why, you're a lawyer. . ."

"Of sorts."

"Never mind what sort. Isn't there a law somewhere which says that every man must have a public trial?"

"Ah, but there's a difference. Trial by publicity is not a public trial within the purview of the law."

"You're quibbling. A trial is a trial, and publicity is nothing unless it's public. So, if there is a difference, it's the same difference. So. there."

And not only newspapermen. Judges are in crisis, too. Since Justice Secretary Yulo cancelled their summer vacation, now judges must work at least two months out of every year. Said a quipping judge: "I was looking forward to two glorious months of pure golf and bridge, with perhaps mahjong and the races thrown in for good measure. But now I'll have to tee off with a complaint every morning and hole out with a decision soon, or I get the grand slam-bang from the Justice Secretary. What a life!"

But the worst hit by the crisis are the day-and-night clubs and the cocktail lounges, now that Finance Secretary Romualdez has issued an order banning BIR and Customs men from frequenting these places of amusement. Said one inveterate habitue: "It's a crisis all right. The torch singers and orchestras in these places sing and play only one theme song which begins: Bye-bye happiness, hello loneliness, hello emptiness. . ."

One lonely hostess cried: "If this continues, we will all go underground." And she meant it literally.

After the last applause following the state of the nation address had died down, I collared a congressman from Bulacan and asked him:

"Do you agree with the President that the nation is in crisis?"

He looked at me quizzically. "Which nation?" he inquired.

"The Filipino nation, of course, which else?"

"Then I agree. . . But if you mean the Ilocano nation, I disagree."

"Why?"

"Because judging from the number of Ilocanos appointed to positions in the army and the government, I can assure you, the Ilocano nation can be great again."

"And the Filipino nation?"

"Ah, the Filipino nation can regret again."

FRANKLY, I was nauseated by the obnoxious puns in the foregoing report of my Congressional Reporter Pete. So I returned it to him with a note scribbled on the margin: "Dear Pete, why don't you peter out, huh?"

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

CONSTITUTION

The basic law of the land was written in 1935; a great

February
9,
1966

● "IN POLITICAL and philosophical theories, as well as in persons, success discloses faults and infirmities which failure might have concealed from observation. The notion that the people have no need to limit their power over themselves, might seem axiomatic when popular government was a thing only dreamed about, or read of as having existed at some distant period of the past." These words of John Stuart Mill in his essay "On Liberty" may not be quite apposite to the theme I intend to develop, and his essay can hardly be accepted without many distinctions and reservations, since his main point in the thesis has itself broken down in practice, but they do point out this fact: practice often reveals flaws which could not be foreseen in theory.

This fact underlies the persistent demand for constitutional amendments, a demand which is generally acceptable to those who know of it, is favored by the Philippine Constitution Association, and has been endorsed, at least in principle, by the new Administration. I need make no apologies for desiring changes myself, being in such excellent company. While I lay claim to no intimate knowledge of constitutional law, or any law for that matter, I can rightfully venture to think about the subjects, like any other citizen, since we ordinary citizens will ultimately have to approve or disapprove any proposed amendments.

An ancient Greek once said that war is far too important a matter to be left to the generals, and it would seem that constitutional change is far too important to be left solely to specialists, particularly as the Constitution is supposed to be — to use the high-sounding phrase — "the expression of the sovereign will of the people." All of us should participate in discussion, considering that important changes in our government will be involved.

The original Constitution provided for amendments in the following manner: "Article XIV. — AMENDMENTS. Section 1. The National Assembly (read Congress today), by a vote of three-fourths of all its Members, may propose amendments to this Constitution or call a convention for that purpose. Such amendments shall be valid as part of this Constitution when approved by a majority of the votes cast at an election at which the amendments are sub-

mitted to the people for their ratification." There are, therefore, two ways in which constitutional amendments may be proposed, either by a constitutional convention expressly called for the purpose, or by Congress itself. Any amendments must be ratified or approved by us the people in order to take effect.

Since the original drafting of the Constitution, all amendments have been proposed by the legislature, never by a convention. The change from a unicameral to a bicameral legislature, the change of the President's term of office from six years with no reelection to four years with one reelection, the parity amendment, all were the work of the legislature, approved of course by a subsequent plebiscite. How the first two amendments would have fared if they had been proposed in a convention rather than in the legislature is difficult to judge, but I will hazard the guess that parity would have fared badly. However, even in the latter case, in view of the relatively naive mentality of post-liberation days and the probable ease with which the Administration then in power could have arranged to pack the convention, who knows?

Partisan Considerations

Dwelling on the subject of *how* amendments should be proposed at present, I think a constitutional convention is preferable to Congress. Congress, whether we like it or not, is a highly partisan body. Although we have (more or less) a two-party system, which is considered by many as indispensable for a working democracy, although every successive election has increasingly shown that the electorate cares less and less about electing a party and more and more about electing qualified individuals and, lastly, although theoretically elective officials are intended to consider the public interest first and foremost, relegating partisan considerations to a secondary position, ahead only of personal ones, in fact and in practice the public interest all too often is subordinated to personal and party considerations.

In other words, Congress is a highly partisan body. Many of its members are chosen for their personal integrity and abilities and are expected by the people to exercise their influence and cast

their vote in Congress for the public interest, irrespective of party considerations. Performance does not often measure up to expectations. Furthermore, the general trend away from party voting has by no means eliminated the practice of electing a candidate merely because he or his party has an unusual hold on the constituents, apart from any personal qualifications. It is not unknown that constituents have to make a choice between equally or almost unacceptable candidates because those for whom the people would like to vote have been eliminated by intra-party maneuvers, frequently of the most unsavory sort.

The Sensible Course

While party discipline and a certain consistency in an Administration program may at times be a rationalization for this unfortunate state of affairs, law-making and implementation of Administration programs are one thing, constitution making and changing are another. The consideration and proposal of amendments should be removed as far as possible from the more short-sighted goals of a short-lived Administration.

It seems to me that the most sensible course of action would be to summon a constitutional convention. While the choice of members for a convention would not automatically eliminate unworthy persons, a convention could, and doubtless would, include persons eminent for their knowledge, integrity, and selflessness who otherwise could not take active part in promulgating constitutional amendments. Retired politicians, whose health no longer permits active political life, lawyers who cannot or will not involve themselves in politics, educators and other highly qualified men and women whose ways and lives are far removed from partisan struggle — all these people could form part of a convention and contribute tremendously to the wisdom of the process. To deprive the nation of their services in a matter as serious as the fundamental law of the land is a moral injustice, even if not a legal one.

And I say this, not as an abstract statement, but taking into account the truly critical situation in which we find ourselves, a situation too critical and deeply rooted to be attributable to any one man, Administration, or party. To

take an instance, the members of the Philconsa, the organization which has battled and continues to battle so bravely and strenuously for the Constitution and for morality in government action — for all of us, in other words — these members could take active part in the convention, whereas if amendments are to be the work of Congress, Philconsa could only air its views at hearings — and be ignored.

The mere fact that one is chosen to sit in a constitutional convention which will establish fixed norms for all legislation, rather than in a partisan Congress elected to make laws which can easily be revoked by the next Congress, or by the same Congress in a subsequent session — this in itself must imbue the members of a convention with a seriousness and a sense of responsibility far beyond that of an ordinary member of Congress. That a man or woman is entrusted with the basic law of the land, and this alone, allows for far greater concentration in considering constitutional problems. The perspective is by nature different. A lawmaker is chosen to face the problem of laws within the framework of the Constitution, a member of a constitutional convention is faced with the Constitution itself, a far more awesome prospect.

I am not implying, of course, that we do not have men in Congress who are authorities on law. To name only a few who come to mind immediately — Senators Arturo Tolentino, Lorenzo Tañada, and Jovito Salonga. But surely they could be part of an extra-congressional convention. It would seem that justice and the great need of the country demand that the very best men and women — whether in the government or out of it — should have an opportunity to take active part, rather than restrict the process to those in Congress.

I cannot deny that the calling of a constitutional convention involves disadvantages. Possibly, considerable expense would be involved. If so, this is a consideration not to be lightly dismissed at present, in view of the shaky finances of the government. Nevertheless, no matter how serious the need of economy at this time, economy cannot be the prime consideration in such a weighty matter. We cannot afford to be penny wise and pound foolish.

deal of change has come about since / by MANUEL L. QUEZON, Jr.



RECTO
He felt otherwise



TOLENTINO
These law experts can be counted upon in the calling of a new convention



TAÑADA



SALONGA

It may also be objected that undesirable elements will not necessarily be eliminated from a constitutional convention. True — but the presence of highly desirable persons who could not otherwise participate could amply compensate for it. Where the purpose of a gathering is *de jure* and *de facto* far removed from partisan strife, the danger of undesirable elements is greatly minimized. Again, if it be objected that the manner of choosing the members of a convention would be determined in the last analysis by a party-ridden Congress, I would still say that the objection is not entirely valid because Congress could hardly afford an attempt to turn such a convention into a mockery (although past experience with Congress could raise doubts in some minds). Besides, the normal operation of party processes within Congress could not simply be transferred to a constitutional convention. A convention does not normally operate on the basis of a body composed of a majority and a minority political party. Conscious of the fact that I have by no means exhausted all the objections to a convention, I shall pass on to the next topic, the length of time assigned for a convention.

Our present Constitution was framed within a period of about a year. The Tydings-McDuffie Law required that the convention meet not later than October 1, 1934, and the new Commonwealth Government was inaugurated on November 15, 1935. I believe that a constitutional convention should be given ample time for its deliberations, just how long to be determined by the work it intends to do. Depending of course on the extent to which individuals believe the Constitution should be amended, to that extent they will favor a greater or lesser length of time. While I will not be so bold as to say that we should jettison the entire Constitution in favor of an entirely new one, I will say this: the Constitution as we have it now was intended to be an organic whole, not merely a patchwork of provisions unrel-

ated one to another. When a portion of the Constitution is changed, the other parts may well be adversely affected.

To cite one instance: the original Constitution provided for a strong Executive and a unicameral Legislature. In a developing country a strong Executive was considered necessary and a unicameral Legislature can be a powerful counterpoise to executive excesses, since the legislative power is exercised by a compact body. On the other hand, a situation where the Legislature is dominated by a party other than the President's seems less likely, a situation which can lead to endless bickering, horse trading, and even paralysis of government. The credit or the blame for the actions of a particular Administration can be easily laid at its doorstep. This of course refers to the first term of the Legislature, since originally the National Assembly was to be elected every three years, whereas the President was to be in office for six years.

Far-reaching Consequences

The Constitution was subsequently amended to provide for the bicameral Legislature we have today, and the President's term was reduced to four years, with one reelection. I am not here concerned with the pros and cons of bicameralism versus unicameralism, but I will point out that the Legislative seems to have been weakened. It has also become more difficult to assign praise or blame. The last statement can hardly be denied, in view of the mutual recriminations between Liberals and Nacionalistas as to who was responsible for the failures — there were at least some failures — of past Administrations.

I have discussed the above situation at some length, although perhaps without the proper depth, only to point out that what may seem a limited change in the Constitution may have far-reaching consequences for the balance and the organic form of the Constitution and, ultimately, on the success or failure of government. (I am not here necessarily ad-

vocating a return to unicameralism.)

The amendment most frequently discussed — a six-year presidential term with no reelection or a four-year term with one reelection — is another case in point. The voting pattern almost seems to have made the question academic from the constitutional viewpoint, since the people have not seen fit to reelect a single President of the Republic. The ability of the people — propensity, perhaps — to turn one occupant after another out of Malacañang makes one wonder whether any constitutional limitation of presidential reelection is at all necessary. It could be pointed out that the people were not fully satisfied with any President and if they were they would have reelected the man. Well and good. But suppose after two terms the people are still satisfied and want the same man to continue, why frustrate their will? Would not the requirement of an election for the presidency at constitutionally determined intervals be a sufficient safeguard against a lifetime presidency contrary to the will of the people?

Again, I am not trying to prove that reelection should or should not be limited. I am trying to point out that the question requires calm and lengthy study. I also wish to point out in passing that the agitation on the subject is largely influenced by recent party struggles and fears, and a sound decision could be better reached by a constitutional convention not immersed in party struggles, as members of Congress are apt to be.

The two questions I have discussed are intended to point out that a constitutional convention, if called, should be given ample time for its deliberations, not hurried through its work by imposing a sharply limited time, like a special session of Congress. There are other amendments under consideration and discussion which will require careful study. Returning to the old system of Senatorial representation by districts is mentioned. So is the simultaneous hold-

ing of elections, usually urged on the plea of economy. The lowering of the voting age to 18, on which I hope to write at some future time, seems to be favored by so many that it is a wonder it has not been discussed publicly, at least at any length. Giving the vote to illiterates, of which I already had occasion to write, also has wide, although equally silent support, as well as opposition (although opposition seems largely based on the belief that it is impossible — in India and Mexico it is done, with no harm to democracy, and as the Latin axiom goes, “*ab esse ad posse valet consequentia*” — from the existence of a fact you can argue to its possibility).

The present and, to me and to many, unfortunate control of the Executive over appointments to the Judiciary would bear looking into and makes one reflect whether or not the theory of the division of powers between three equal and coordinate branches of government is working out in practice. Indeed, should the system of checks and balances, as at present established, be maintained at all? While an independent Judiciary is absolutely essential for the safeguarding of the democratic process, must the Executive and the Legislative be set up one against the other, so to speak? Many do not think so. As I mentioned in a previous article, Recto is said to have felt otherwise. The nations of the British Commonwealth are not only democracies, they are unusually successful working democracies, yet the Executive comes from and sits in Parliament.

Nothing To Fear

Our present Constitution was written in 1934-1935. We have had the experience of 30 years by which to judge it. We have undergone changes, the world has undergone changes, which the Fathers of the Constitution could not have foreseen. Some old problems are no longer with us, others persist, some new ones have arisen. We are living in a world well-nigh alien to prewar times. If the Constitution is to be amended, would it not be sensible to bring our best men and women together for the task, allow them to take a fresh, calm, unhurried look at the Constitution, study it with all the resources with which experience and research can provide them, and allow them to propose whatever changes are needed?

Perhaps to allay fears of excessive change which subsequent experience might prove unwise, provision for a second look after 10 years might be provided for. We ought not to be unduly frightened by the prospect. After all, approval of proposed amendments is yours and mine to give or to withhold. In the midst of the chaos in which we are living, why should we fear a possible fresh start?—#

WHAT IS A NATIONALIST?

by BLAS F. OPLE

The right to see with one's own eyes
presents the challenge of thinking
out the nation's position in the world



● NATIONALISM is, above all, the right to see with one's own eyes. This was how Rizal defined it in his famous exchange with Father Pablo Pastells. For otherwise, Rizal pointed out, "we would be wise men in one another's house, they directing our actions and we theirs, and everything would be in confusion, unless for the sake of the others we renounce our own judgment and self-esteem . . . which is to offend God and to disdain His most precious gift."

To see with one's own eyes is to begin the process of differentiation, individuation, and self-determination. In this act is already enfolded, in latent form, all the grandeur of human destiny based on the exercise of freedom and responsibility. Without this right there can be no morality of freedom and human dignity.

But the right to see with one's own eyes means also the end of innocence, the loss of Paradise in intellectual as well as political terms. It presents a people with the truly momentous challenge of thinking out afresh the nation's position in the world, in relation to itself and to other nations, and perhaps a reordering of the traditional national goals.

This search for truth in independent terms can lead to dangerous consequences — for certain traditional interests. It is in this way that nationalism arouses opposition and alarm — and becomes the basic issue in the political life of a nation.

From the debate over the extraterritoriality of the American military bases to that of the teaching of Rizal's books in public and private schools, the power

of nationalism to excite controversy is clear. And this example already suggests the reason why Filipino nationalism is often associated opprobriously with anti-Americanism and anti-clericalism.

Nationalism as the right to see with one's own eyes compels us to reexamine the past — to look afresh at our own history. Such a decision may sometimes entail a radical change in perspectives. The old, colonial interpretation of history obliged us, above all, to be grateful to the Spaniards and the Americans for emancipating us from savagery and giving us the boon of law and civilization. Today we see our colonial past in a wider and more realistic perspective. We may still acknowledge our debt to our colonizers but we do so in the context of the exploitation to which we were subjected. We accept the truth, with the rest of mankind, that colonialism, no matter how altruistic in appearance, in actual life stunts and degrades the human personality and arrests all meaningful progress. We realize that colonialism means the aggrandizement of the foreigners at the expense of the natives. Moreover, we discover that colonial arrangements stubbornly persist in our national life, especially in the economic field.

Today's nationalist believes that these colonial arrangements have long outlived their usefulness and that therefore they should be changed. There is in fact near unanimity by now that the parity rights granted to the United States at the end of the war, in exchange for war damage, should not be allowed to continue beyond 1974. There is also a developing senti-

ment against the renegotiation of the Laurel-Langley agreement which expires in 1974 — and which will mark the end of a pattern of economic dependence on the US that began with free trade relations in 1909.

The nationalist believes that the public power, the sovereign power of the people, should be utilized to alter these arrangements as speedily as possible and thus broaden the areas of our independence. Moreover, the nationalist tends to regard our traditional subservience to the United States in foreign affairs as a national humiliation. He feels that national self-respect cannot be quite attainable until we can enjoy genuine independence in the conduct of our foreign relations — to see the world, in the phrase of Rizal, "through the prism of our own judgment and self-esteem."

The nationalist believes in a single national identity; hence, his rejection of the standard of double allegiance which prevails over a wide area of popular opinion. It is not a secret that the Filipino military mind is conditioned to think of the interests of America and the Philippines as one and inseparable. The practical consequences of this double identity are most unfair to this country. Our intelligence agencies, for example, have yet to develop a sense of their own identity and integrity apart from being voluntary and dependable appendages of their American counterparts.

Such a relationship with the United States is immature and is often the source of misunderstandings and irritation between Americans and sensitive Filipinos. In fairness to the Americans, they cannot be expected unilaterally to raise the level of maturity in Philippine-American relations. The initiative must come from the Filipinos themselves.

The Americans deal with every nation according to its desserts. America obtained bases in Japan and Spain, but in both cases gave due consideration to the feelings and rights of the local populations. We are still fighting for these rights under our military treaty with the US — rights long taken for granted in the Atlantic. The onus for improving our relations with the US may then be said to lie not on Americans but on the Filipinos themselves. What can America do if so many of us prefer to be abject and fawning rather than erect and self-respecting? It is not the Americans but the Filipinos who must earn their independence.

Filipino Maturity

What is at issue is not the maturity of Americans but that of Filipinos. Stated differently, this is the inertia of resistance to change among Filipinos themselves.

It is unfortunately only too true that Filipino apologists for colonialism put their foreign counterparts to shame in assiduity, ingenuity, and self-righteousness. They do their best to obfuscate the issues of nationalism by making this synonymous with communism. Not that they do not sometimes come close to the truth. They call the nationalist a "subversive" and in this they may be correct. The nationalist is pledged to change — to "subvert" — the colonial vestiges in the *status quo*; his mission, if there is any, is to remove the ancient blocks toward greater independence, freedom of choice, and a freer and more vigorous development for the people.

It will be more correct to say, however, that the real menace to this nation comes from those who seek, by their purland conservatism, to hold up the free development of the country and of its

democracy. Their concept of the Republic and that of the nationalists differ significantly. The first acknowledge a standard of double allegiance — to the United States and to the Philippines. The nationalists acknowledge only one country and object of allegiance, the Philippine Republic, not a non-existing Fil-American republic. Anti-nationalism is holding up the successful consolidation of our national independence and our free development based on honest beliefs and genuine self-respect. It prevents the possibility of our true reconciliation and enduring friendship with America and the West.

Our cultural values as a people have been formed largely by our contact with the Graeco-Roman-Judaistic heritage of the Western world. From this source and from our own sensitivity we have presumably derived our notions of spiritual and intellectual integrity. Filipino nationalism is an expression of this integrity in political terms. The Filipino cannot fully experience this feeling of integrity and of national dignity until he has learned to use his own eyes, judgment, and volition in ordering his own life and future.

Greater Candor

Nationalism seeks greater candor in our relations with other nations. And in the end this will be best — even for the friendship between the Philippines and America. Claro M. Recto has probably done more for Philippine-American friendship than those who were appalled by the boldness of his candor in articulating the issues between the two nations. He has done more than any other to raise the level of maturity in the relations between the two countries: an essential step toward making this friendship real and enduring.

The Filipino nationalist has nothing against America as such; many of his cherished values flow from American sources, such as the American Revolution, and the tradition of Jefferson, Hamilton, Lincoln, F. D. Roosevelt, and John F. Kennedy. The nationalist feels that America should export more of this tradition than the opposite one symbolized by Goldwater and Nixon. This explains why even the most unimpressive nationalists in Asia and Africa felt deeply the death of President Kennedy; implicit in this was the notion, right or wrong, that America could still rediscover its own truest traditions in the rising nationalism of Asia, Africa, and Latin America — had Kennedy lived.

A perceptive English writer, Prof. Hugh Tinker, recently isolated and identified two major strains in Asian nationalism. One, he said, is the revolutionary nationalism of the Viet Cong, Burma, and Indonesia, and the other, the moderate nationalism of the rising middle classes of the Philippines or Malaysia. In terms of our own experience, the Hukbalahap movement represents the first strain, and the nationalism of Recto and Laurel the second. The contemporary history of Southeast Asia shows that the first has always occupied the field in default of the second. Anti-nationalism is committed to bring about and hasten that default.

Since the days of Burgos, Rizal, and Mabini, Filipino nationalism has identified itself with the cause of democracy and the freedom of the human mind. All those who can, from motive of sincere goodwill, must help it keep on this straight path. But it can and will stay on this path only if it is allowed sufficient freedom to attain its aims for our people. The alternative is suppression — and chaos on a Vietnamese scale. — #

ideas, at the acuteness with which he perceives and evaluates changing social conditions. To be inflexible in one's views, in one's attitudes, is to be ignorant of the dynamic nature of human society. But what is more important is that the Chief Justice's social consciousness is rooted primarily in the belief of the essential dignity and worth of the individual.

At 63, Chief Justice Concepcion is wiry and active. He spends most of his free time playing golf with his cronies and colleagues in the judiciary. Other than golf, his leisure is devoted mostly to reading, listening to music and to his family, particularly to his 10 grandchildren over whom he dotes like the usual indulgent grandpapa. He prefers Tchaikovsky and Sibelius because of what he calls their socialistic orientation and their strong nationalistic spirit.

To the Chief Justice music is a lyrical way of expressing one's inner feelings and longings. "Most oppressed peoples have sad and haunting music. It is the subconscious expression of the soul, which somewhat serves as a sort of balm, perhaps to assuage their longing for something which seems unattainable." As examples he points to Filipino *kundimans* and to Negro spirituals.

Sundays in the elder Concepcion's household in Quezon City are usually the occasion for a family reunion. The children have the run of the place, and the atmosphere is gay and relaxed. First cousins, Chief Justice and Mrs. Concepcion celebrated their 40th wedding anniversary recently.

Gentleman Of Old School

He is sincere and terribly loyal to his friends. His casual style and unassuming nature betray a gracious gentility which, no doubt, sprang from a rather formidable bourgeois background. Any apprehension one may feel at the prospect of interviewing one of the foremost jurists of the country is quietly dispelled by the easy charm and the kindness of the man. Justice Concepcion is a gentleman of the old school, which would perhaps make him stand out more as an anachronism against the brash and shallowness of the modern day younger executives.

But to Chief Justice Concepcion, the law and all that it involves, is his *raison d'être*, his one consuming passion. His 41 years in the legal profession, whether in the practice of the law, in the teaching of it, or in the upholding of it as a judge, has instilled in the Chief Justice a profound respect for the law. "The law is the formal expression of the people's will." And the judge has to respect that will; a violation of the law is a desecration of the people's will. The law has been instituted primarily for the welfare of the people, to protect their basic rights.

The apparently justified assertions that he is identified with the liberal block in the Supreme Court the Chief Justice dismisses with good humor. Secretly, he is delighted. "Personally, I think this is very flattering. But I'm afraid that there has been some coloring on the part of the newspapers. Maybe so, because they have based my identification as a liberal on some of my decisions."

But in a more serious vein, Chief Justice Concepcion adds: "A judge is neither right nor left (in the ideological sense); neither is he a Nacionalista nor a Liberal (in the party sense). His main

concern is to adhere strictly to the law." He bewails the fact that some people are not sold on the purely legal aspect of the law; instead, they are more inclined to stress the equity of the law. A judge cannot allow his personal bias, prevailing social conditions, and other extraneous factors to influence his decisions. He is first of all committed to follow the law, and his decisions have to operate within prescribed principles.

On the other hand, he warns against the narrow reading of the law. Some judges refuse to see beyond the letter of the law. They insist on making a provision the law itself, not a part of the law. What about other provisions which are also part of the law? A good and fair judge, in the opinion of the Chief Justice, must not only have an impartial view when he decides a case but he must also be able to look at the law in its totality for him to be able to understand its spirit. One who has acquired a legal perspective will be able to probe into the "ultimate objective" for which the law has been conceived.

Understanding the spirit of the law becomes specially significant when a judge is sometimes faced with a conflict between two rights or two wrongs. Deprived of fixed axioms to base his decisions on, the judge asserts his integrity by relying on his experience which has given him his legal orientation. But his decision must always be within the framework of the law.

Liberal Views

For a man on whom the rule of law has become a way of life, Chief Justice Concepcion's liberal views become more explicit, if not more cogent, when projected against his stand in favor of la-

bor — trade union, collective bargaining, right to picket, etc. — and against his militant defense of civil liberties and on the freedom of the press. This liberalism is consistent with the Chief Justice's philosophy that the law in the first place was constituted for the welfare of the people and for the preservation of the social order. But it is the people from which power and authority emanate.

To the Chief Justice, the *Industrial Peace Act* and the *Magna Carta of Labor* are not only legal guarantees against abuses but are also concrete indications of social progress within the democratic system. He adds that while social security, socialized medicine, and other practices and institutions connected with a socialistic system were unknown, before, they are now grafted into the democratic system.

One of the original founders of the *Civil Liberties Union*, Chief Justice Concepcion is uncompromising in his advocacy of the freedom of the individual to have his own thoughts and beliefs, and in his insistence on the guarantee of this freedom. He likes to recall, now with amusement, how he and his fellow CLU members have been accused of being "fellow travellers" because of their stand on civil liberties. To him, what is conveniently ignored by the detractors of the Civil Liberties Union is the fact that the members are pledged to defend the Constitution. "In fact this is the main purpose of the Union. To defend the Constitution and to protect the rights of the individual."

In the Chief Justice's view, the press is the most effective lever in a democratic society. It is a form of airing, an outlet. It is through the press where dissent, injustice, abuses, wrongs are

exposed. The press in this respect is truly the spokesman of the people, even if it expresses the opinion of the minority.

As a man of law, the Chief Justice is against chaos and the disruption of the existing social order. When the people are repressed and not allowed to express their grievances the situation will precipitate disorder, perhaps a revolution. The freedom of the press, and the freedom of the individual to express his thoughts can effectively prevent disorder.

Justice Concepcion's militant stand on civil liberties is only matched by his strong sense of nationalism. To him Filipino nationalism was at its peak during the early part of the 20th century. And this nationalistic spirit was carried too by Quezon and later by Recto. The nationalists of 1907, for example, were still under the influence of the propaganda movement. There was a type of nationalism that demanded that a political candidate or a leader be one "que tiene cara y corazon Filipino."

Evils Of Politics

Must the Constitution be amended to make it more responsive to the political realities of the present? The Chief Justice favors the idea that the tenure of the President of the Philippines should be fixed, without reelection. In this respect he even proposes that most if not all elective government positions be without reelection, if only to avoid too much politics. "Politics in this country is the cause of many evils. The politicians' first aim once they are elected is to insure their reelection. They are not interested in the people's welfare."

But what has the Chief Justice to say against antiquated laws and laws which are colonial? In so far as the Chief Justice is concerned, laws which seek to exploit, laws which are against the interest of the Filipinos are basically anti-nationalistic in content and should be revised. But the revision and the change should be guided by the principles contained in the Constitution.

But the main and immediate preoccupation of Mr. Concepcion, as the Chief Justice, is to bring the courts closer to the people. The people have to realize that the courts belong to them. The courts do not exist only for a certain class or for a certain group. The courts are the bulwark of a democratic society; and the people should be made to realize the value of their existence. They have to go to the courts to seek redress: "It is like a cushion," Justice Concepcion says.

The conservatism of the courts is something necessary because the function of the courts is to institute order and to preserve the social system. But the courts are also aware of changing social conditions, and Congress has created legal instruments to meet these problems — Court of Industrial Relations and the agrarian courts. What is important is for the people to learn that the courts are there for their complaints and grievances. Their suits may not produce immediate results. "But the contest is for history. They have to look at their efforts from a larger point of view."

Thus, to Roberto Concepcion, elevation to the chief justiceship of the nation's highest court is not so much a tribute to his person but as a superb opportunity to see that the law will not only survive but prevail as well. For this the seven years that he will be Chief Justice are too short indeed. —#



WITH GRANDCHILDREN
Eight of his children's children pose with the Chief Justice during 40th wedding anniversary celebration.

August 3, 1966

CULTURE IN THE NATIONALIST STRUGGLE

(CONCLUDING ARTICLE)

SENSE OF NATION

by MANUEL L. QUEZON, Jr.

● ALL OVER Asia, Africa, and Latin America today, there is a tremendous surge of nationalism at a time when in Europe, the homeland of nationalism, there is a marked trend in the opposite direction. Perhaps a partial explanation lies in the contrasting experiences of nationalism in those areas.

In Asia, Africa, and Latin America, we view nationalism as a constructive force, a movement absolutely indispensable if the developing nations are to survive and grow in freedom, dignity, and self-respect. Our nationalism has already performed one function — the attainment of independence — but a great many tasks remain undone.

On the other hand, the Europeans have found in the course of two World Wars that, unless their nationalism is considerably toned down, it would end by destroying those very nations which it is intended to serve.

The European attitude toward General De Gaulle points up this attitude very clearly. While there is widespread admiration for De Gaulle as a leader and statesman who saved France and reestablished her as a force to reckon with in international affairs, there is even more widespread opposition, a kind of impatient, irritable opposition, to his strong French nationalism as being a stumbling-block to the unification of Europe, which alone can save the various nations that comprise Europe.

If nationalism, which for so long amounted to a frenzy of the European nations, has brought those same nations to the sorry pass where it threatens to destroy them, while nationalism has been such a potent force for good in other parts of the world, it can only be because the term *nationalism* conceals both a constructive and a destructive force.

As A Destructive Force

It is destructive insofar as it is jingoistic, insofar as it involves a crude belief in the innate superiority of one nation over another or over all others, insofar as it sets itself up against any others and, by implication and potentially, against all others. It is destructive when it reposes on falsehood, fiction, and irrational emotion, especially hate and greed; when its basic attitude is "against" as much as, or even more than, "for".

These qualities grew increasingly prominent in Europe as the 19th century drew to a close and the 20th century dawned. The increasing obsession with national aggrandizement, for a place in the sun, not in conjunction with others but to the exclusion of others or at any rate to an exaggerated overshadowing of others, led to a paranoic self-centeredness and fear of other nations, which in turn led to the build-up of armaments on a scale inconceivable in any previous age.

The notion of a "Concert of Europe," instead of producing harmony, degenerated into a Babel in which each participant tried to drown out the rest. The inevitable explosion came — World War I.

It is tragic that Europe had not learned its lesson. The end of the War, and the uneasy peace that followed, merely served to give a respite for the same old tensions to build up to an even greater explosion — World War II.

European Nationalism

From all indications, Europe has at last learned its lesson — that war solves nothing if its objective is national vengeance rather than justice, and that nationalism, in its European form, is the breeding ground of yet more wars. Thus, the impatience with the anti-foreign type of nationalism; thus the emphasis on what unites Europe rather than what divides it; thus the willingness to co-exist with communism, not out of approval for communism but in the hope of avoiding another war which, due to the advance of weaponry, would end, not in victory or defeat but the peace of a common worldwide graveyard. Thus, a general suspicion, whether justified or unjustified — I believe it is the latter rather than the former — of De Gaulle and his actuations. As far as jingoistic nationalism is concerned, the Europeans "have had it," and want no more of it.

The emerging nations are only now able to participate as actors on the stage of world affairs. They see how nationalism built up Europe. They see the positive, constructive aspect of nationalism and are perhaps less conscious of the disastrous effects of its perversion.

National Dignity

Conscious or not, the newly independent nations of Africa and Asia are, by and large, not building toward the old destructive nationalism of Europe. They are aiming at the condition of national dignity and relative self-sufficiency long since attained by European nations and already taken for granted, like the air we breathe, a condition which would have been attained and which would have been even more widespread in Europe had the unfortunate aspects of nationalism been kept within bounds.

To us, nationalism is a force for the attainment in the future of what Europe attained long ago. If our nationalism at times manifests some of the symptoms of old-style, European nationalism, it is unfortunate, but it is within our power to apply the remedy. The disastrous experiences of other nations should serve as a strong corrective and surely we are not so blind as to fail completely to read and learn the lessons of history.

After such a lengthy warning against

the perverted brand of nationalism, it will doubtless sound inconsistent for me to advocate cultural nationalism.

The very term "cultural nationalism" brings echoes of precisely the kind of stupid jingoism which I so strongly condemn. It spontaneously brings memories of the Nazi claims to a superior "Aryan" (that is to say, German) culture, the

perversions that we excluded from genuine nationalism.

What then do I mean by cultural nationalism? First and foremost, it must be something positive, constructive, and realistic. It must be rational and logical, not excluding sentiment but keeping it firmly under control. It involves caution, but not cowardly fear of anything for-



PAST

A rustic scene done by Fernando Amorsolo

proof of Aryan superiority and the justification for the subjugation and even extermination of lesser breeds. I readily grant the objection to the term "cultural nationalism," but there is no more reason to reject the term because of its connotations in other lands than there is for rejecting the term nationalism itself for the same reason.

At this point, I cannot think of a better term and perhaps the term will be less objectionable if we clarify and delimit it in the same way as nationalism itself and exclude from its idea the same

eign or new merely because it is foreign or new.

Cultural nationalism demands an unprejudiced mind, so that we may be able to take stock of ourselves and act accordingly, be able to appraise foreign influences so that the contact with foreign cultures may be a process of selective, enriching assimilation rather than indiscriminate acceptance or rejection, with inevitable cultural disintegration or arrest. We want cultural preservation and growth, but not petrification or a loss of identity. The process must be an or-

ONAL IDENTITY

ganic one, as the word assimilation indicates, not one of mere external addition, as one dumps more stones on a pile of stones to make the heap grow.

We speak of preservation and growth, but — is there anything to be preserved or to grow? Is there a Philippine culture at all? Only ignorance or stupidity can deny it.

places the conclusion beyond dispute.

Just what our culture consists of, I am not competent to say. I can say, however, that it is extremely complex. It is that very complexity which often leads Occidentals to classify us either as Occidentals with brown skins or Orientals with a very superficial Western veneer.

It is that same complexity which leads

an imaginative reconstruction, more or less accurate as the case may be, of Philippine culture at the time of Magellan's arrival, setting up that culture as the only true Philippine culture and de-Filipinizing all subsequent generations, including our own.

In my opinion this attitude is untenable. It separates the pre-Spanish from subsequent cultural developments, considering the former as wholly indigenous — they were not, in the narrow sense of the word — and the latter as spurious. The attitude gives too much credit to the ability of Spanish and American culture to supplant our previous culture and replace it with something entirely different; the attitude also gives no credit whatsoever to our ancestors for any capacity to transform and assimilate foreign influences, giving them a distinctively Filipino character.

One who holds such a view turns his back to the most significant and most remarkable — I would say most admirable — fact about our culture and ourselves: that complexity has not prevented unity, nor unity led to monotonous uniformity. Instead of our being proud of our unique cultural achievement — it is *our* achievement, not the Spaniards' or the Americans' — we are ashamed of ourselves, see only the faults and dangers of our culture and see them magnified out of all proportion.

Pride In Our Culture

I can think of few worse threats to a vigorous nationalism than a nation dependent over its culture. The Filipino culture is a monument to our ability through the centuries to master the influences which outwardly seemed solely to master us — for to be transformed mechanically is to be mastered, but to modify, to transform, to assimilate, and to give a distinctive character is also in the best, non-destructive sense, to master.

Can we continue to do so? In the past, we had two powerful allies, distance and time. The jet age has nullified distance. Mass media of communications and daily contact with foreigners at all levels of society have robbed us of time, time to transform and assimilate, time to weigh — for selective acceptance or rejection — the avalanche of influences which press on us and threaten to bury us.

Only a strong cultural nationalism, a pride in our culture and heritage and the determination that we shall not be *stamped* into change by anything foreign, that whatever changes we make, of native or foreign origin will be through our own well-considered judgment, through an organic process which will not shatter our culture but strengthen and improve it — only such a strong cultural nationalism can save us and serve as a firm anchor for our nationalism.—#



...AND PRESENT
A painting along modern lines by Cenon Rivera

Competent students of culture have not, to my knowledge, denied the existence of our culture, of "a way of life common to [Filipinos] based on a social tradition and manifesting itself in [their] institutions, literature, and art." (Christopher Dawson). It is not surprising that our fellow-countrymen who have made cultural investigations should realize its existence with relative ease, but that foreign sociologists and cultural anthropologists inevitably come to the same conclusion and recognize our culture even better than the average Filipino

some Asians to say that we are not Asian at all, although Indians, Chinese, Japanese, Indonesians, Nepalese, Syrians, etc. do not deny it of each other, much as they differ among themselves.

It is that same complexity which bewilders us and drives us to attempt a total identification with West or East (in the sense in which Asians sometimes exclude us from it), an attempt impossible in one case, meaningless in the other.

It is the same complexity from which some try to escape by taking refuge in



Q.A.

Why does she feel at ease in any company any time of the month?

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'We cannot surrender the light of reason to the forces of hysteria in our midst. We must look at every problem from the standpoint of our permanent national interest'



A LAST-DITCH STAND AGAINST

by JOSE F. RODRIGUEZ, Staff Member

● THIS IS HARDLY the time to split hair, what with the Philippine Action Group (Philcag) about to leave for its overseas appointment with destiny, and, possibly, disaster, but an official of the past administration is hoping that "my solitary voice raised in protest in the wilderness" may yet bring about a miracle that will keep this nation from getting involved in an armed conflict on foreign soil.

The lone protestant, Pedro C. Peralta, former general manager of the Philippine National Railways, recently filed with the Supreme Court a petition for prohibition and preliminary injunction seeking to stop the Administration from sending the so-called engineering battalion to South Vietnam.

Explaining that he was "impelled only by patriotic reasons" to pursue such a course of action, Peralta, who enjoys a rather lucrative law practice in La Union and is reputed to be a doughty defender of the downtrodden and lost causes, said that he was, on the whole, optimistic of the outcome of his petition.

Grave Violations

Learning that the Philcag was leaving within two months, he said, during a brief interview in his Manila home (he spends most of his time now in San Fernando, La Union); "I filed this petition last June 15, four days after the President signed the Vietnam aid bill, with the hope that favorable action may be taken on it by the Supreme Court before the military contingent leaves these shores. Like any petitioner in a law case, I am confident that the high court will give due course to my petition. By due course, I mean notify the diverse parties involved in the petition and give them a chance to present their side. This usually takes 10 days."

In seeking to stop the Administration from sending the Philcag to Vietnam, Peralta, in his petition, emphatically stressed on the following grave violations of the Constitution:

1) The sending of the engineering battalion was a warlike and hostile enterprise, contrary to the principles of the Constitution, which renounces war as an instrument of national policy;

2) Republic Act 4664 (authorizing the increase of Philippine economic and technical assistance to South Vietnam)

amounts to a declaration of war and, as Senate Bill No. 391, it was approved in the Senate by 15 affirmative against eight negative votes, falling short of the constitutional requirement of 2/3 affirmative votes of all the members of each chamber of the Congress (Art. VI, Sec. 25, Phil. Constitution). It is, therefore, null and void;

3) The "team" to South Vietnam, being provided with "security support" and "shall at all times be under a Philippine command," clearly reveals the military nature and character of the aid



PEDRO C. PERALTA
A voice in the wilderness?

which kind is not expressed nor included in the title of the bill as passed into law, to wit: "AN ACT AUTHORIZING THE INCREASE OF PHILIPPINE ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO SOUTH VIETNAM" and, this being so, the sending of such kind of assistance is illegal and unconstitutional being violative of the constitutional provision which states that the subject "shall be expressed in the title of the bill" (Art. VI, Sec. 21 (1) Philippine Constitution);

4) The appropriation of P35 million



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ideas, at the acuteness with which he perceives and evaluates changing social conditions. To be inflexible in one's views, in one's attitudes, is to be ignorant of the dynamic nature of human society. But what is more important is that the Chief Justice's social consciousness is rooted primarily in the belief of the essential dignity and worth of the individual.

At 63, Chief Justice Concepcion is wiry and active. He spends most of his free time playing golf with his cronies and colleagues in the judiciary. Other than golf, his leisure is devoted mostly to reading, listening to music and to his family, particularly to his 10 grandchildren over whom he dotes like the usual indulgent grandpapa. He prefers Tchaikovsky and Sibelius because of what he calls their socialistic orientation and their strong nationalistic spirit.

To the Chief Justice music is a lyrical way of expressing one's inner feelings and longings. "Most oppressed peoples have sad and haunting music. It is the subconscious expression of the soul, which somewhat serves as a sort of balm, perhaps to assuage their longing for something which seems unattainable." As examples he points to Filipino *kundimans* and to Negro spirituals.

Sundays in the elder Concepcion's household in Quezon City are usually the occasion for a family reunion. The children have the run of the place, and the atmosphere is gay and relaxed. First cousins, Chief Justice and Mrs. Concepcion celebrated their 40th wedding anniversary recently.

Gentleman Of Old School

He is sincere and terribly loyal to his friends. His casual style and unassuming nature betray a gracious gentility which, no doubt, sprang from a rather formidable bourgeois background. Any apprehension one may feel at the prospect of interviewing one of the foremost jurists of the country is quietly dispelled by the easy charm and the kindness of the man. Justice Concepcion is a gentleman of the old school, which would perhaps make him stand out more as an anachronism against the brash and shallowness of the modern day younger executives.

But to Chief Justice Concepcion, the law and all that it involves, is his *raison d'être*, his one consuming passion. His 41 years in the legal profession, whether in the practice of the law, in the teaching of it, or in the upholding of it as a judge, has instilled in the Chief Justice a profound respect for the law. "The law is the formal expression of the people's will." And the judge has to respect that will; a violation of the law is a desecration of the people's will. The law has been instituted primarily for the welfare of the people, to protect their basic rights.

The apparently justified assertions that he is identified with the liberal block in the Supreme Court the Chief Justice dismisses with good humor. Secretly, he is delighted. "Personally, I think this is very flattering. But I'm afraid that there has been some coloring on the part of the newspapers. Maybe so, because they have based my identification as a liberal on some of my decisions."

But in a more serious vein, Chief Justice Concepcion adds: "A judge is neither right nor left (in the ideological sense); neither is he a Nacionalista nor a Liberal (in the party sense). His main

concern is to adhere strictly to the law." He bewails the fact that some people are not sold on the purely legal aspect of the law; instead, they are more inclined to stress the equity of the law. A judge cannot allow his personal bias, prevailing social conditions, and other extraneous factors to influence his decisions. He is first of all committed to follow the law, and his decisions have to operate within prescribed principles.

On the other hand, he warns against the narrow reading of the law. Some judges refuse to see beyond the letter of the law. They insist on making a provision the law itself, not a part of the law. What about other provisions which are also part of the law? A good and fair judge, in the opinion of the Chief Justice, must not only have an impartial view when he decides a case but he must also be able to look at the law in its totality for him to be able to understand its spirit. One who has acquired a legal perspective will be able to probe into the "ultimate objective" for which the law has been conceived.

Understanding the spirit of the law becomes specially significant when a judge is sometimes faced with a conflict between two rights or two wrongs. Deprived of fixed axioms to base his decisions on, the judge asserts his integrity by relying on his experience which has given him his legal orientation. But his decision must always be within the framework of the law.

Liberal Views

For a man on whom the rule of law has become a way of life, Chief Justice Concepcion's liberal views become more explicit, if not more cogent, when projected against his stand in favor of la-

bor — trade union, collective bargaining, right to picket, etc. — and against his militant defense of civil liberties and on the freedom of the press. This liberalism is consistent with the Chief Justice's philosophy that the law in the first place was constituted for the welfare of the people and for the preservation of the social order. But it is the people from which power and authority emanate.

To the Chief Justice, the *Industrial Peace Act* and the *Magna Carta of Labor* are not only legal guarantees against abuses but are also concrete indications of social progress within the democratic system. He adds that while social security, socialized medicine, and other practices and institutions connected with a socialistic system were unknown before, they are now grafted into the democratic system.

One of the original founders of the *Civil Liberties Union*, Chief Justice Concepcion is uncompromising in his advocacy of the freedom of the individual to have his own thoughts and beliefs, and in his insistence on the guarantee of this freedom. He likes to recall, now with amusement, how he and his fellow CLU members have been accused of being "fellow travellers" because of their stand on civil liberties. To him, what is conveniently ignored by the detractors of the Civil Liberties Union is the fact that the members are pledged to defend the Constitution. "In fact this is the main purpose of the Union. To defend the Constitution and to protect the rights of the individual."

In the Chief Justice's view, the press is the most effective lever in a democratic society. It is a form of airing, an outlet. It is through the press where dissent, injustice, abuses, wrongs are

exposed. The press in this respect is truly the spokesman of the people, even if it expresses the opinion of the minority.

As a man of law, the Chief Justice is against chaos and the disruption of the existing social order. When the people are repressed and not allowed to express their grievances the situation will precipitate disorder, perhaps a revolution. The freedom of the press, and the freedom of the individual to express his thoughts can effectively prevent disorder.

Justice Concepcion's militant stand on civil liberties is only matched by his strong sense of nationalism. To him Filipino nationalism was at its peak during the early part of the 20th century. And this nationalistic spirit was carried too by Quezon and later by Recto. The nationalists of 1907, for example, were still under the influence of the propaganda movement. Theirs was a type of nationalism that demanded that a political candidate or a leader be one "que tiene cara y corazon Filipino."

Evils Of Politics

Must the Constitution be amended to make it more responsive to the political realities of the present? The Chief Justice favors the idea that the tenure of the President of the Philippines should be fixed, without reelection. In this respect he even proposes that most, if not all elective government positions be without reelection, if only to avoid too much politics. "Politics in this country is the cause of many evils. The politicians' first aim once they are elected is to insure their reelection. They are not interested in the people's welfare."

But what has the Chief Justice to say against antiquated laws and laws which are colonial? In so far as the Chief Justice is concerned, laws which seek to exploit, laws which are against the interest of the Filipinos are basically anti-nationalistic in content and should be revised. But the revision and the change should be guided by the principles contained in the Constitution.

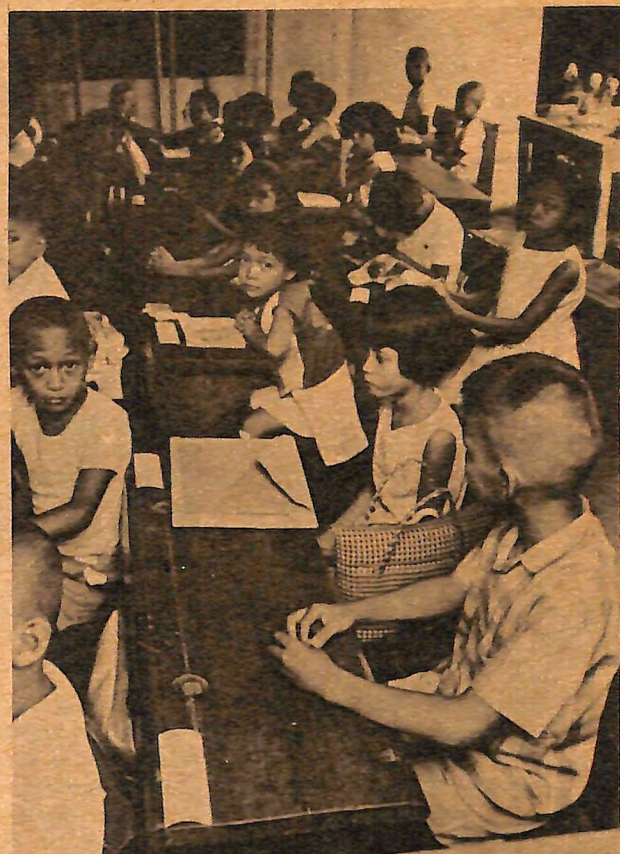
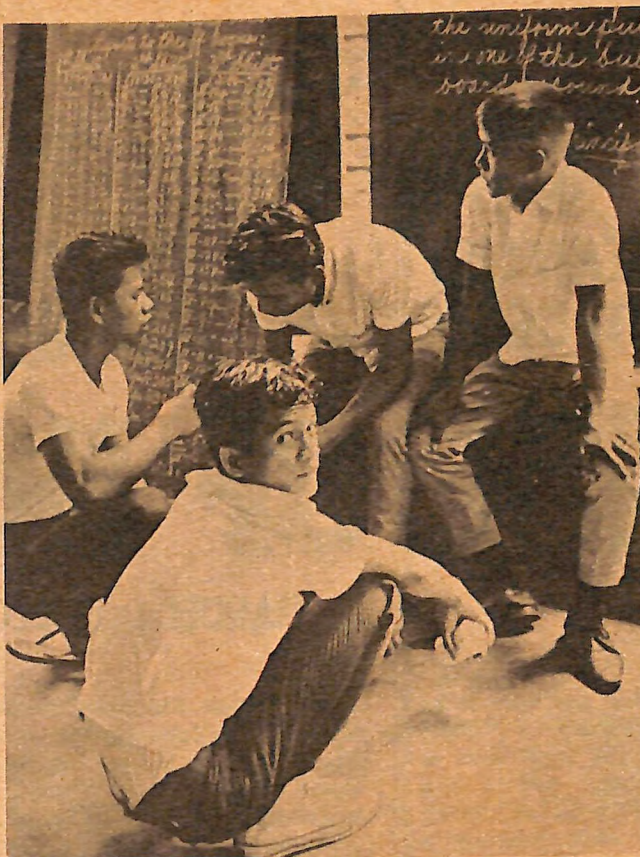
But the main and immediate preoccupation of Mr. Concepcion, as the Chief Justice, is to bring the courts closer to the people. The people have to realize that the courts belong to them. The courts do not exist only for a certain class or for a certain group. The courts are the bulwark of a democratic society; and the people should be made to realize the value of their existence. They have to go to the courts to seek redress: "It is like a cushion," Justice Concepcion says.

The conservatism of the courts is something necessary because the function of the courts is to institute order and to preserve the social system. But the courts are also aware of changing social conditions, and Congress has created legal instruments to meet these problems — Court of Industrial Relations and the agrarian courts. What is important is for the people to learn that the courts are there for their complaints and grievances. Their suits may not produce immediate results. "But the contest is for history. They have to look at their efforts from a larger point of view."

Thus, to Roberto Concepcion, elevation to the chief justiceship of the nation's highest court is not so much a tribute to his person but as a superb opportunity to see that the law will not only survive but prevail as well. For this the seven years that he will be Chief Justice are too short indeed.—#

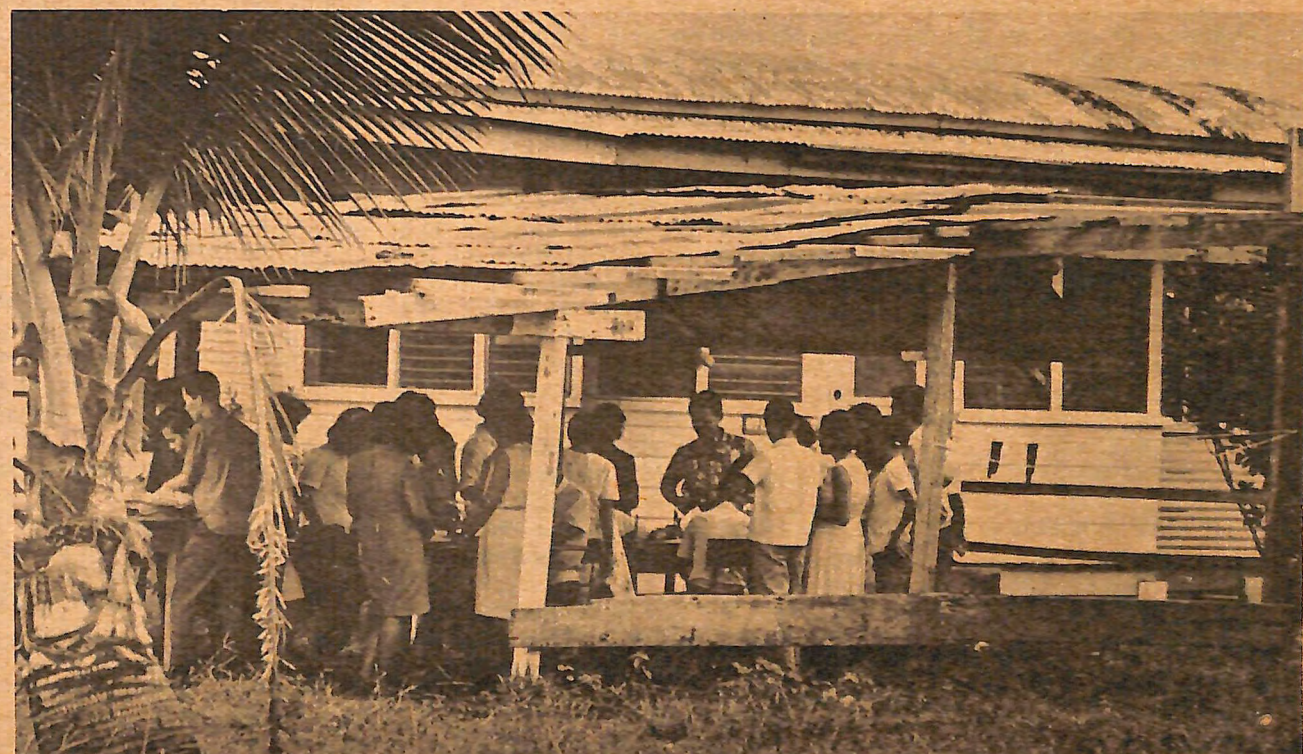
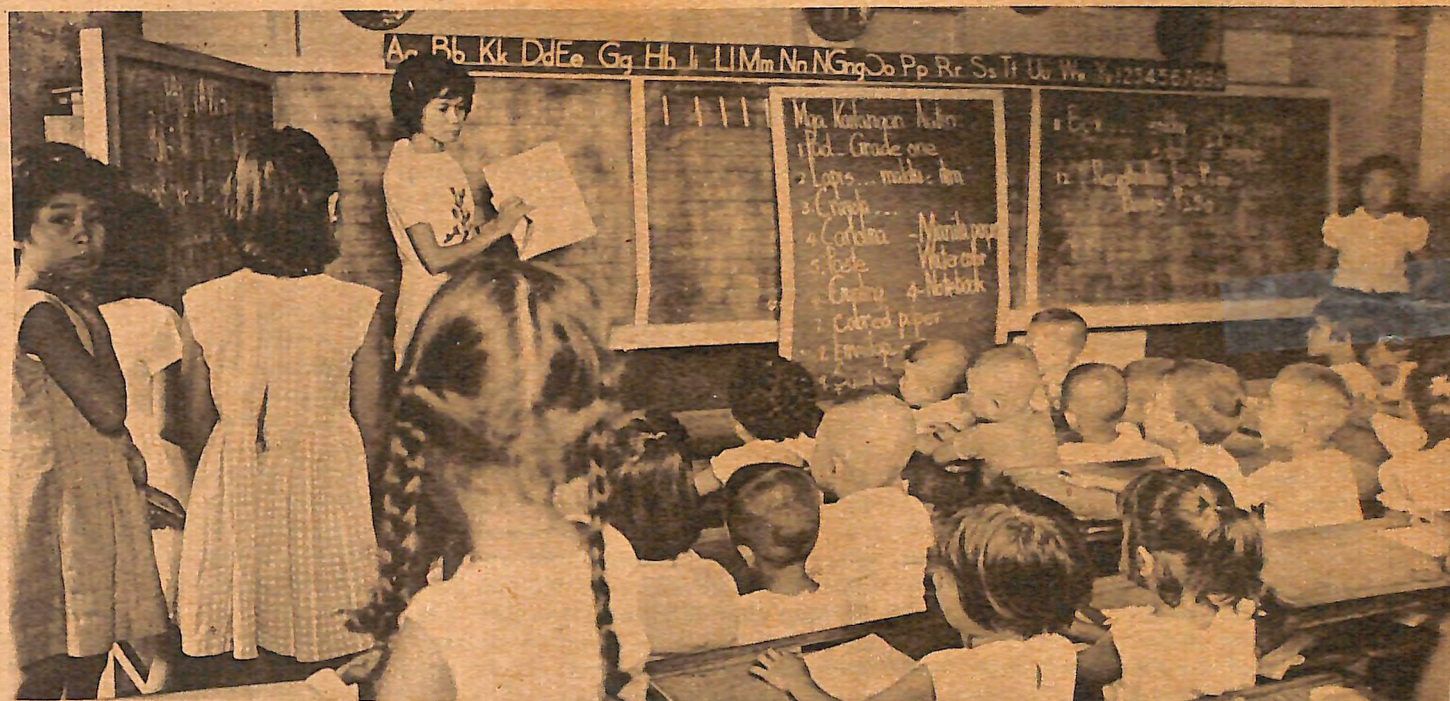


WITH GRANDCHILDREN
Eight of his children's children pose with the Chief Justice during 40th wedding anniversary celebration.



OPENING DAY

Makeshift registration center (bottom), crowded corridor and jittery first-graders (below, above right), waiting high school boys (above left), and a classroom without any lights in the Grace Park Elementary School at 7th Ave., Caloocan City are a few sidelights of enrolment day.



to schools for enrolment, with some 5000 pupils going back home: there is no room for them.

Until a concrete solution to the perennial problem is found, classes may have to be held under trees, in makeshift schoolbuildings, in dimly lighted corridors, in filthy and stinking classrooms, with dilapidated tables and chairs despite the ₱631,947,112 allotted to the department of education this fiscal year.

— Teodoro C. Berbano

CULTURE IN THE NATIONALIST STRUGGLE



SENSE OF NATIONAL

by MANUEL L. QUEZON, Jr.

● SOME YEARS ago I was asked to define nationalism and I declined, feeling incapable of doing justice to the term on such short notice. I shall not attempt to define it now, but I will say that it involves basically the assertion and defense of identity, the identity of a people conscious of itself as a people. If my reader will grant me so much, it follows that official recognition of the independence of a nation does not of itself mean that the goals of nationalism have been fulfilled.

In fact, nations or states have been created to satisfy the needs or conveniences of international power politics, with the corresponding recognition according to international law. Those political creations have broken apart as soon as circumstances permitted, because the citizens had no consciousness of being a people.

We need not go deep into history to find an example.

Malaysia fell apart almost as soon as it was formed, with Singapore choosing to go its own way and the Bornean territories still undecided whether to remain definitely within the Federation. This has happened because of the absence of any feeling of national identity thus far which would make it possible for those territories to be incorporated fairly easily into a political unit largely Malay. This sense of identity is something which, at the time of the Spanish conquest of the Philippines, could have enabled the Visayas to be as easily incorporated into a political system centered on Menado, in the Celebes, as into a political system centered in Manila. Given such a historical development, Visayans today would be proud of being Indonesians instead of Filipinos.

The international recognition of the sovereign status of a territory, therefore, does not create a national identity. The former presupposes the latter, and if that national identity does not already exist, it must be created if the state is to survive the centrifugal forces which tend to blow it apart.

The identity of a people is not something simple. Even identity of race is not the determining factor — at least not necessarily the determining factor. France is a perfect example. I doubt if there is a country in the world where differing, and even contradictory, political opinions have been carried to their logical extremes as in France. Yet the consciousness of French nationality has overridden all divisions.

We commonly think of France as a Latin country — I shall leave the accuracy of this idea to the judgment of those better qualified than I, but there

is no doubt that there are very large non-Latin strains: Brittany is Celtic, Normandy is Nordic (at least there is a large Nordic element), part of the South is Basque. Nevertheless, every Frenchman is first and foremost a Frenchman, and being of an ethnic strain different from the majority of Frenchmen makes no one feel less of a Frenchman for it, nor do the rest consider him less of a Frenchman.

One of the strongest elements making for this sense of identity, possibly the strongest, is the sense of community in French culture. In other words, cultural identity — not to be confused with cultural monotony or uniformity — imbibed in the very soul of the French people, is a cement which makes any thought of a French breakup unthinkable. Even if every single state in the world were to withdraw recognition of France, France would still be France.

Concept Of Culture

I have dwelt on the case of France at some length to emphasize the role which cultural nationalism should play in our nationalist struggle, which has by no means been won. Speaking of "the Philippine soul," the outcome of Philippine culture, will sound hopelessly intellectual, or romantic to some, and just plain stupid to others, so we had better steer clear of such phraseology. Let us be satisfied with trying to answer two questions, by no means simple, but at any rate more down-to-earth:

Is there a Filipino culture?

What is it?

Any answer we give will necessarily be challenged (at least in their own minds) by those whose line is the study of culture, since space does not permit anything approaching an adequate treatment of the subject. But never mind.

The modern sociological concept of culture is that of "a way of life common to a particular people and based on a social tradition which is embodied in its institutions, its literature and its art." This view of culture is attributed to T.S. Elliot by Christopher Dawson (both among the most eminent students of culture in our age), and he agrees.

Taking this definition on the strength of the authority of the aforementioned authors, and using it as a standard, can we say that there is such a thing as Philippine culture? I believe we can answer yes.

The negative proof of this reply should be obvious to anyone who has travelled abroad or had extensive contact with foreign communities in our own land. Those Filipinos who have been to Spain (most have liked it) have found it def-

initely foreign, "different," despite many similarities in our customs and attitudes. Those who have been to the United States (many have disliked it) have also found it foreign, "different," despite some similarities (not very many) in our customs and attitudes. This strangeness persists, notwithstanding our continual exposure to the "American way of life" through the press, movies, and television and the continuing close national relationship with the United States, a relationship which does not exist with Spain.

I have used Spain and the United States as examples, because they are the two countries which have had the strongest, because most recent and politically dominant, influence on us.

Lest the Filipino's feeling of strangeness be dismissed as due to the white faces and to the contrast between Occidental and Oriental, let us consider those who are closer to us geographically and in physical appearance, the Indonesians, the Malaysians (those of them who are Malays) and the Thais.

The similarity in physical appearance and in certain social characteristics which seem to be common to tropical peoples masks the differences to a considerable extent, nevertheless the differences are there, and no matter how the Filipino may like those peoples, he will still find their ways foreign to him. If the Filipino finds himself different from all those peoples mentioned, despite all sorts of similarities, it can only be because there is a certain "hard core" of culture which makes him different, something a good deal more basic and permanent than a passport.

The Filipino's consciousness of the different way of life of other nations can only be explained by the existence of a standard with which he can compare it, namely, his own, the Filipino way of life.

The positive proof of the existence of a Philippine culture shades almost imperceptibly into the identification and description of Philippine culture, at least in some of its principal outlines.

For the positive proof, or, at any rate, one positive proof, we must appeal to our own experience.

The family is the life-cell of the social organism and certainly there is a common pattern of family life among Filipinos. The almost universal protest against certain patterns of behavior among some of the younger generation — in their extreme manifestations, they are what is lumped under the general term "juvenile delinquency," new and unfamiliar to the older generation — are an unmistakable sign that they jar the sensibilities of the

rest of the population because they do not fit in with what has come to be considered the normal course of family life.

Pakikisama, whose nearest English equivalent is the now rather stilted-sounding word "comradeship" — not "fellowship" because it allows for a certain amount of insincerity, nor "public relations," because it has an unmistakable ring of commercialism and both degrade the very concept — is so much a part of Philippine social tradition that gang-ism has stolen its credentials and is thus all the more difficult to expel from our midst.

The word "mabait," which I hesitate to translate because of its complex connotations, but which is commonly and most infelicitously rendered "good," *magaan ang dugo*, which cannot be translated at all: both are universally admired qualities inseparably connected with our social tradition.

With these three instances, significant instances, pervading as they do our lives, I believe the case for the existence of a Philippine culture is sufficiently established.

Now, what is Philippine culture? A culture ordinarily is the outcome of many factors, and as such is a complex thing. It is the product of the interplay of many influences — climate, geography, the meeting and mingling of different ethnic and racial groups, religion, the development of a native civilization and the impact of other civilizations, etc.

A "pure" culture almost necessarily is an impoverished culture. A remarkable case in point is the hillbillies of the United States. I think we are justified in treating them as a cultural unit because, up to recently at any rate, they lived in a world apart. The unfortunate situation of the hillbillies requires no comment.

Petrified Culture

Egypt and China seem exceptions to the general rule of the necessity of external contacts — significant contacts, that is — for the development of a great culture, since both civilizations appear to have been almost entirely of indigenous, localized origin. But perhaps the petrification and death of both civilizations are the outcome of the absence of streams of renewal.

But the general rule holds: a rich culture requires the concurrence of many factors, and presumably the potential for growth and vitality is greater the more complex the factors involved. However, the process of formation and development of a culture does not take place through a mere putting together, a me-

IDENTITY

chanical juxtaposition of factors.

The cultural process is an assimilative process, an organic process similar to that of nutrition, whereby a living body takes in external elements, of which some are discarded and others become a living part of the living body so that they cease to be external — they become part and parcel of the body, and in turn take part in the process of further assimilation.

Philippine culture has a background so rich that potentially we have one of the greatest cultures possible. What it is, even a thick book could hardly define adequately, certainly not a brief article. I shall limit myself to indicating some of the materials that have gone into the process of its formation, and possibly an idea of what will emerge.

The racial composition of the Filipino people merits serious and extensive study.

Presumably the original inhabitants of these islands were the Negritos. We should be indignant that these, our original Filipinos, are living an existence so completely on the margins of the mainstream of Filipino life. The fact that they are today relegated, as it were, to the status of an exotic plant that has managed to survive should not lead to the conclusion that they have not left definite contributions and influences on our present-day life.

If the touching friendliness of today's Negritos, to the point of their being easily taken advantage of, was characteristic of them in ages past, that may well be the origin of the same trait, although somewhat reduced, in today's Filipinos.

To describe the various pagan tribes — those of the Mountain Province, Palawan, and Mindanao, — and their possible cultural influences is not here possible, but I imagine that many beliefs which affect our daily lives are due to them and their animistic religion, beliefs which we do not even suspect we owe to them. The very limited territorial extension of each of those groups would naturally limit the extent of their influence on the subsequent inhabitants, except where their various cultures coincided, as in the example cited.

The various waves of Malay immigration are an entirely different matter. The Malays occupied pretty well all areas of the archipelago, and their customs seem to be almost universal in all Malay lands. We may, therefore, consider the Malays and their culture as constituting the raw materials of our present Philippine culture, the basic organism which underwent the cultural process of meeting, impact and assimilation, with its inevitable modification of the original organ-

ism.

It is the original Malay population which has mainly undergone the influences of the East, first of all, the stream of culture and civilization and race. One stream came from China, fairly constant and unchanging through the ages, the other from India, through Indonesia, modified by Indonesia in a very significant manner, since in Indonesia itself the influx of Indian culture had become Indonesian and yet continued to undergo influences that changed as India itself changed, from Brahmanism, to Buddhism to Islam.

A Unique People

It was these influences, which undoubtedly underwent modifications in the Philippines, which had already modified the original Malay way of life, which, assimilated in varying ways and degrees, constituted the way of life of these Islands, when the impact of the West was felt, an impact which has made us a people unique in the world.

I say unique in the world, because we are of the East and the West, but not the East and not the West, we are of the North and the South and yet not the North nor the South: we are ourselves, Filipinos, through a beautiful and also unique process of assimilation of foreign influences to what we were originally.

This process, imperfect as all human processes must be, has given us today's Philippine culture, with a considerable degree of stability, necessary for a process of development and assimilation rather than disintegration, yet blessed with a degree of flexibility which alone can make further progress possible — a culture rich in variety without irreducible or violently conflicting streams, so that we can agree to disagree, yet with an underlying unity which binds the whole fabric together, so that we are definitely one people, with the consciousness of a common national destiny.

How to recognize this basic unity, in what it consists, and how to protect the necessary minimum of stability to enable us to deal with the modern world and its influences in such a way that the result is healthily assimilative rather than disruptive and destructive, is a very serious problem with which we are faced.

Our survival as a nation depends on our success in dealing with the problem. I honestly believe that failure will turn into a common phenomenon what we find more and more often in individual cases — the faceless Filipino.

(The concluding article will appear in next week's issue.)

SKIN-DEEP

by GEMMA CRUZ ARANETA



Taal tales

● AT this writing, the indecisive Taal Volcano has just emitted menacing nebulae of smoke and sporadic flashes of phosphorescent fire. The sight was really more beautiful than frightful. The volcanologists who were said to have been caught unawares by the September eruption must have sighed heavily with relief. Since then, they have been incessantly testing the lake's temperature, recording the slightest tick of their seismographs while predicting a more terrible blast. But months passed and there seemed to be no real indication of another eruption; everyone, especially newspapermen, had begun to poke fun at them. Even the Taal evacuees, exhausted by our charity, have rowed back to the foot of the volcano to rehabilitate their ruined dwellings. But it had to take the Beatles, to whose shocking behavior the fury of the volcano was attributed, to prevent our volcanologists from losing face once again.

Lately the Manila dailies have come out with pictures of a crater emitting smoke and with scientific accounts of how other craters and fissures are being formed. But as usual, we Filipinos are taking everything calmly, even indifferently, despite the possibility that hundreds of evacuees would not have enough food, clothing or shelter.

In 1629, as we are told by Medina in his *Historia de Filipinas*, Taal was always coughing out flames and contaminating the wind with ashes, dust and oppressive heat. In those days Taal was called the "execrable blasphemy launched by Satan against God." As a result, the surrounding coastal villages were so parched that people could not cultivate their land. Then a certain Father Albuquerque thought of building an altar at the foot of this bellicose volcano and ordered the villagers to go there in a procession, after which Mass was celebrated. "So successful was this," Medina relates, "that as yet, no more fire or smoke has been seen and that island, about four *leguas* in circuit, has fields and cows and the inhabitants of Taal sow and reap their harvests. . ."

Today, the new agitation at Taal has brought about a sort of procession, not of devotees with blind faith, blessed candles, efficacious novenas, and saintly hymns but of pleasure-seekers, hungry for adventure, armed with cameras, transistor radios, and picnic baskets. Inhabitants of the coastal towns have learned to turn disaster into business. Motorized bancas are being let for as high as P50, depending on how angry the volcano is at that particular moment. Times have changed indeed and we have become so worldly and blasé! At the Taal Vista Lodge, a group had gathered and they would chorus, "O, o, o, aya-aaa-an!" everytime the crater would belch fresh smoke and sparks of fire.

On 21 September 1716 and in December 1754, our forefathers witnessed the same volcano erupt. The historical accounts which have come down to us from those times are serious and alarmed.

The 1716 eruption was said to have sounded "like those of heavy artillery. . .and the mountain seemed to be in a state of ignition over a space of three leagues toward Macolog. Gigantic towers of boiling water and ashes were thrown up, the earth shook on all sides, the waters of the lake were agitated and overran its banks; this lasted for three days."

In December 1754, a new governor-general, Don Pedro Manuel de Arandia was about to take office in Manila. He must have been as provoking as a mophead from Liverpool for Taal volcano erupted again. This time, the eruption lasted for eight days. Taal was spitting fire, huge stones, and ashes. Four coastal villages were buried in ashes and darkness spread over Manila, Cavite, and even Panay. The lake was gurgling and boiling like a huge witch's cauldron, killing the fish and crocodiles. It was considered most disastrous!

Generations from now, Taal will perhaps cause trouble again. One wonders how our descendants will react to it.



September 28, 1965



July 5, 1966

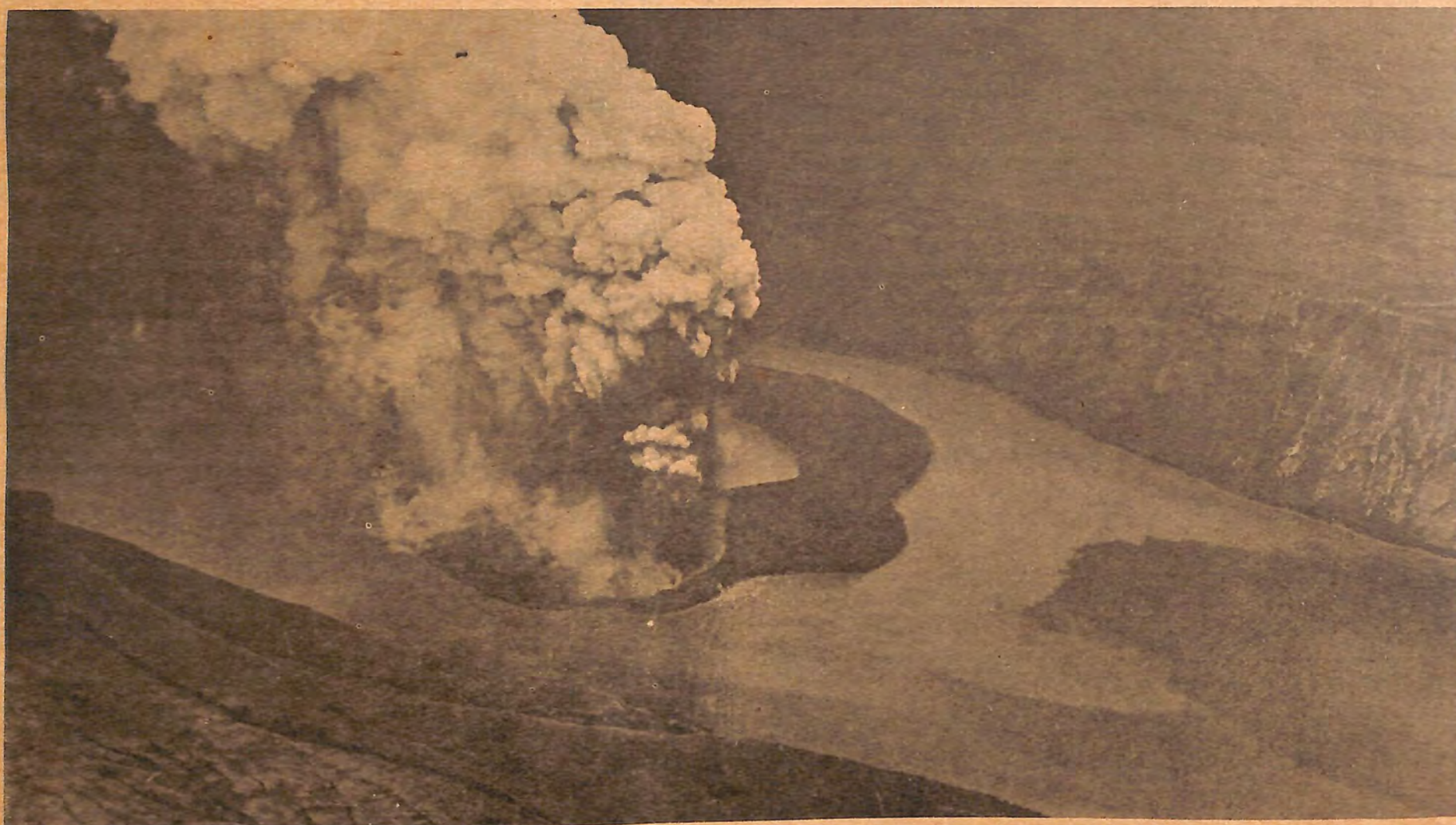


July 10, 1966

TAAL'S LONG AND VIOLENT HISTORY

• ASH, SAND, and red-hot rocks have formed many towns in the province of Batangas in the long violent history of Taal volcano. Since its first known eruption in 1709, the killer mountain lying in the middle of a placid lake has exploded 13 times, the last three occurring within 10 months. According to records kept by the commission on volcanology, the most violent eruptions took place in 1754 and 1911 when searing black ash and boiling water left a wide swath of destruction and made even Manila feel its relentless fury. Since 1911, however, the volcano had quieted down until

September 28, 1965 when all its stored violence broke loose and spread death and buried towns along the lake. The volcano experts have since kept a long and silent vigil and detected, two months ago, an impending eruption. The people duly warned, evacuation began. On July 5, 1966, Taal erupted anew, steam and rocks spewing out of the rim of the new crater formed by the 1966 eruption. After two days, the volcano slept, only to erupt again in less than a week to form a second conelet. These aerial photos show the angry volcano in different stages of convulsion.—#



July 14, 1966 (note first conelet)

At the age of 10, Butch Belgica went to live in the San Beda monastery, in an attempt to find out if he "can be an archbishop."

The new cook fascinated him with stories of battles, guns, and of men who dared because they drank.

Drink, girls, and guns made going home late a ritual the fast crowd of Butch Belgica demanded.

They hogged the street then ganged up on a driver who wanted to pass through. A gun exploded; the driver slumped dead.



VICTIM

● HE NEVER REALLY told anyone what he wanted to be. He was happy-go-lucky, friendly, very young. He didn't seem to care very much about studies and took his time in school. At 17, he looked 14 and was still in high school, but neither seemed to bother him.

Most of all, he enjoyed his friends. If he wasn't talking to them on the phone, he was visiting them. For their sake, he wanted a car of his own passionately, perhaps with the fiercest of passions. At home, he begged to drive the car — even if it wasn't his own yet. And his hints were loud that on his 18th birthday, he'd like nothing better than a car of his own.

But still, Joselito Zuzuarregui at 17 was considered too young by his brother and guardian, Antonio. "He was too happy-go-lucky. I wanted him to have more *sentido*. I felt very protective about him."

The feeling was understandable. The Zuzuarreguis lost their father early in their lives and Tony, as the eldest, stepped early into the role of guardian for his twin brothers, Joselito and Enrique, and of man of the house for his widowed mother. The role was made slightly lighter by the inheritance that the elder Zuzuarregui had left to his heirs and which fell on Tony to administer.

Henry, the other twin, was mature for his age and sailed through school smoothly. Graduated this schoolyear, Tony had promised him and his mother a trip abroad — anywhere they pleased — and Joselito was to go with them, as soon as his grades were released.

Joselito had trouble with school even from the beginning, simply because it didn't grip his interest. And so Tony hovered over him as the boy struggled through nursery school at Nena Garcia's, through grade school at Letran, and through part of high school at the Baguio Military Institute.

In 1964, Tony thought that Joselito might take an interest in schooling

abroad and so early summer, took the boy with him to San Francisco, California. "I enrolled him at the San Francisco Academy. He learned to find his way to the school and knew in a day what bus to take. Some of my friends in San Francisco said they would love to have him stay with them. And so I left him at the school, although I gave him a plane ticket for home in case he decided to come home instead. When I was ready to leave in a week — and after only three days schooling at the Academy — Joselito told me he wanted to go home with me."

Back home, Joselito enrolled at the



JOSELITO ZUZUARREGUI

THE VICTIM

He was too friendly, happy-go-lucky, and generous and school did not quite grip his interest

Lyceum and there made many friends, the best of whom was Ernesto Enage who described Joselito as "happy and jolly."

"He was so generous with them," said Tony. "Sometimes my mother would complain that Tony lost his shirt again. He went out of the house with a new shirt and came back with an old one. Once he had new shoes and came home with old slippers. His friends obviously take a liking to his things. And he literally took his shirt off his back for them."

At home, he was a quiet boy, who didn't talk much, didn't like reading or watching tv. "Most of all, he liked to sleep," chuckles Tony. "In fact, I called him *Manok* because of the way he slept: straight on his back, but with his head tilted to a side."

He was close to his mother and ran with his wants to her — most of all he went to her about the car. Tony was

strict with it; he had to be home by nine in the evening if he had the car; but his mother interceded when he didn't keep curfew. Joselito also begged his mother for a car of his own and it was she who talked Tony into giving the boy a '65 Dodge Dart last January.

The softness on Tony's part was prompted by a special fondness for the boy. "I thought he had a streak of bad luck. He lost his father when he was only four. He lost a finger when he was seven. He was always sickly. He was slow in school."

Protective as Tony was about his brother, he had no forethought of actual violence falling on the boy. "Of course, I gave him ample warnings. I told him that a boy, a girl, and a beautiful car are provoking. Seen on the road at night, it is a temptation for other boys to come up to it with a dare to a race. That's why, I told him, he couldn't take the

car out very often."

Once in Baguio though, when Joselito was a cadet at the BMI, he had a brush with violence. On a Saturday night leave to go to the movies, Joselito and his companion, another cadet, were set to by some boys and threatened with knives. Joselito escaped, but his companion was stabbed. It was time, Tony decided, to take his brother out of the BMI.

Of Butch Belgica and his brother, Tony had never heard — though Butch's father knew Joselito and twice had occasion to take the boy home, after Joselito had taken supper with the Belgicas.

Tony was to hear of Butch Belgica only when it was too late — "after the last time I saw Joselito at home." That was Sunday, May 1st when the Zuzuarreguis were all home and were together for lunch. That night when Tony came home at 10 p.m., he noticed that Joselito's car was not in yet and so early the next day, the Monday holiday, he was looking for his younger brother to give him a scolding.

"He's asleep," said Henry the twin. "Let your scolding go for now."

So Tony left the house to go to the stables at the San Lazaro race tracks where he kept his horses. At home — Henry and his mother had told him later on, Joselito woke up, looking brisk and energetic. And what was more, he did something unusual: he washed his car.

Tired from the task, Joselito took a shower and put on fresh clothes and told his mother that he was going to visit Ernesto Enage at the Philamlife compound. Parked in front of the Enage home, Joselito sat on the trunk of his car, merrily swinging his legs as he and his friends talked.

In the twilight, they saw Butch Belgica and his friends stop their car. Butch went down to have a few words with Joselito. In the twilight, friends saw a scuffle between the two. Butch's gun went off. Joselito slumped to the ground.—#

SET FREEDOM'S DEFENDER FREE

by MANUEL L. QUEZON, Jr.

● THE OFFICE of the President of the Republic looms so large in the popular imagination, as does, to a lesser extent, Congress, that the other branch of our government, the Judiciary, theoretically separate and theoretically equal, gets scant attention.

We think of individual judges and individual cases of course, and possibly grumble about them; but of the judiciary as an institution and as an arm of government we think precious little and care even less. We speak blithely of a government of laws, not of men, as if the laws administered themselves. Little do we realize that laws can be made operative only by men and that the last bulwark of justice, that one and only refuge of civilized man and the peaceful citizen, is the Judiciary.

If we realized, as we should deeply realize, that the Bill of Rights, the embodiment of the freedom so dear to our hearts is a worthless scrap of ineffectual oratory without a strong judiciary to give it substance and muscle, we would be fiercely determined to defend and strengthen the judiciary, give it credit for what, under terrible obstacles, it is able to accomplish, and blame the other branches of government, not the judiciary, for a situation under which the judiciary is unable to develop to the full its potentialities for service to the nation.

Guarantee Of Independence

It has been accepted as a basic premise of our form of government that there should be three separate and co-equal branches of government, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. That the three branches are always listed in that order is not a mere accident of verbal rhythm or anything of the sort. The order of listing reflects clearly the mentality and the fact regarding the descending importance of the three branches of government. While we affirm the principle of equality, we at the same time unconsciously deny it.

That the three branches of government should be relatively separate — I say *relatively* separate, because an absolute separation would mean three different heads of the same political body — is one of the theories of popular government worked out through experience. The equality of the three branches is a corollary of the same theory of separation of powers, and in practice is possibly even more difficult of attainment. That the ideal of equality should be approached as closely as practicable is of the greatest importance, especially in our political society as it exists in its



COURT IN SESSION

The Bill of Rights is a worthless document without a strong judiciary

A revision in the position and functions of the judiciary would give truer and greater meaning to the checks and balances theory

concrete reality, conditioned by our education (or lack of it), our temperament, our foibles (to use a charitable word for our politics), and the absence of a long-standing tradition of judicial power.

If one considers the matter, one cannot escape the conclusion that the Judiciary is to a certain and potentially dangerous extent subject to the Executive and the Legislative. It has one guarantee of independence — for what that guarantee is worth — tenure of office. That guarantee is considerable in the lower courts, almost absolute in the higher courts and the Supreme Court, and quite absolute, if he so wishes, in the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (barring, of course, the highly unlikely commission of a crime which ends tenure.) But apart from tenure, what do we have?

The judiciary is entirely dependent on the President and Congress for its personnel. The President appoints and the

(congressional) Commission on Appointments confirms, rejects, or bypasses the appointees to positions in the judiciary. The Secretary of Justice (head of the department of justice and extension of the personality of the President) has in his hands the choice of men and women to be fiscals and judges, and decides and recommends who should be appointed, promoted, demoted, etc. etc. Political influence and — let us be blunt — skulduggery attempt to play with varying degrees of success, their full, disreputable role. How many men and women are advanced to and in the judiciary due to merit, regardless of personal and political considerations; how many due to such consideration accompanied by merit; and how many because of such considerations, in the absence of merit or even in the presence of positive demerit — only the suffering members of the judiciary know.

That our judiciary has managed to maintain such high standards under such conditions is not a sign of the desirability or propriety of the system but of God's undeserved mercy and no one has a right to count on a sustained miracle. The respect felt by the public for the judiciary in general and the Supreme Court in particular speaks volumes for their learning and integrity. It would be simple common sense to establish a system favorable rather than menacing to such standards.

The study of the law involves a de-

gree of devotion, *consecration* really, which is not exceeded in any other lay profession. It involves more, much more, than a mechanical memorizing of principles and statutes and an equally mechanical application of those principles and statutes to cases.

Study Of Law

As Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes once said: "The business of a law school is not sufficiently described when you merely say that it is to teach law or to make lawyers. It is to teach law in the grand manner, and to make great lawyers."

Learning the law and applying it by rote very obviously is not here envisioned. Now, what after all are the members of the judiciary but lawyers called upon to exercise judgment authoritatively, what a judge but a man called upon to be man of judgment in a Court of law?

And how can a man be a man of judgment in a court of law unless his learning and his devotion to the law are such that he has imbibed so much of it both in its spirit and its letter that the law has become the every air he breathes? How is our present system suited to the formation and preservation of a judiciary made up of such men and women?

If there is one part of government that should be free of all imputations of politics, it is the judiciary. Nevertheless,

judges and fiscals are appointed by the President, probably the most highly political man in any democracy — he could hardly attain to the Presidency if he were not. Right off, therefore, there is a presumption that political considerations can play a part in his choices for the judiciary. I do not say that political considerations necessarily are involved but they can be, and even if this were to happen on very rare occasions — which is probably the case — those rare occasions just might deprive the judiciary of a highly deserving man or woman or, conversely, afflict it with a highly undeserving one.

Furthermore, any President, faced with his manifold duties, of which selecting the personnel of the Judiciary is only one, is physically incapable of giving the matter the attention it deserves. He naturally and inevitably must rely in most cases on his Secretary of Justice. Although purely political appointees to the post of Secretary of Justice are almost unknown in this country — in that respect we have perhaps been more fortunate than other countries — we have at present no guarantee that such a tradition will be continued. If politics should continue to degenerate as most people expect, there is no reason to suppose that at some future date the tradition will not be disregarded — an unscrupulous politician is a poor respecter of tradition, or of anything else for that matter, except the harsh realities of political opportunism.

In the event of a purely political Secretary of Justice being appointed, the consequences to the administration of justice in this country are easy to imagine, seeing the sort of people who would obtain appointments and rise in the judiciary. But even without such a calamitous eventuality, it is undeniable that the fortunes of judges and fiscals have at times depended on the political color Malacañang saw or imagined in them.

Political Favor

That the members of the judiciary should in any sense be dependent upon political favor for their advancement is outrageous. It is, unfortunately, a fact, not always, perhaps not often, but it is a fact. For a judge to be reassigned to a more convenient location, or promoted to a higher court, for an assistant fiscal to be promoted to fiscal or a fiscal to be made a judge, or for that matter for a lawyer to enter the Judiciary at all may require currying the favor of someone who controls votes, be he a professional politician or otherwise influential with particular groups.

The necessity of approval of an appointment by the Commission on Appointments is a corrective to the aforementioned danger. It can equally increase the danger, since appointments in the judiciary, like all other appointments subject to confirmation by that body, can be turned into a political football, especially when the President is at odds with congress. The process would have to be more subtle — it would be no less real.

I have by no means exhausted the disadvantages of our present system (e. g., I have not discussed prolonged vacancies in courts), I have merely sought to indicate them — some of them. There is, I believe, a way in which these disadvantages and others left unmentioned could be eliminated or at least drastically reduced. It would be to bring the present system more in line with the theory of the judiciary as a separate and equal branch of the government. Here I really and / To page 41

The trek back to their Alma Mater is a combined intellectual-sentimental journey

by FLERIDA RUTH P. ROMERO

● STUDENTS OF the UP College of Law one day turned their heads for a second glance at a straggly group of people going up the staircase of Malcolm Hall. Among them one could pick out the dignified figure of a well-known judge and trailing him, a millionaire businessman whose name is a by-word in industrial circles and stock markets. Was there a convocation somewhere on the campus or were they calling on Dean Vicente Abad Santos? Accustomed to the sight of dignitaries and government functionaries visiting their school, the students cut short their speculations to rush to their classes.

Had they been persistent enough to follow the distinguished guests, they would have been surprised to discover that these men were, like them, enrolled in school — with one difference. This group of judges, lawyers, businessmen, and accountants, were well-established in their professions. Adjusting their crowded calendars, they had looked forward to this opportunity of "clearing the mental cobwebs" that had accumulated through the years and of updating themselves on recent developments in their respective fields at the UP Law Center.

Prime Beneficiaries

Judges and practising lawyers now consider themselves singularly fortunate in being the prime beneficiaries of this new institution which has been set up on the UP campus under the directorship of Prof. Crisolito Pascual. Created by Congress in June 15, 1964 within the framework of the UP College of Law, the Law Center seeks to expand the role of the College from being merely a training ground for future lawyers to a dynamic agency which will contribute directly to the improvement of the administration of justice.

Prior to the formal organization of the Law Center, the College of Law, through its Continuing Legal Education and Research Unit, conducted a three-day institute on the Revised Rules of Court, the main lecturer being the chairman of the committee which undertook the revision of these procedural rules. So well-received was it by members of the bench and the bar that the Center, once officially established, drew up a schedule of institutes in different fields of law in response to the clamor for similar programs.

Made the subject of annual offerings were the twin areas of labor-management relations law and tax law in view of their rapid development and increasing importance. Thus far, two annual institutes have been held in each of these fields. Recently, approximately 200 persons attended the pioneer *Institute on Corporate Practice and Securities*. Spurred by the enthusiastic response, the UP Law Center has committed itself to offering this course on a continuing basis. Already in the blueprint stage is an Institute on Fair Labor Standards and Welfare Legislation.

Most of these programs are held on a straight three-day basis to afford those in the provinces an opportunity to attend.

Precisely to accommodate these out-of-towners, the Law Center has stuck to its practice of scheduling these programs continuously for a certain num-

ber of days instead of staggering them to suit the convenience of the Manila practitioners. Law alumni, in particular, take pains to make the long trek back to their Alma Mater on a combined intellectual-sentimental journey.

Members of the bench, humble enough to admit they can still learn a thing or two from others, sit side by side with practitioners who plead in their "salas." One can sympathize with a confused participant who kept on addressing the chair as "Your Honor." At judicial conferences, however, such as the one on *The Application and Graduation of Penalties*, everyone except the moderator was either a judge or a fiscal. Not infrequently, a lecturer, regarded as one of the legal luminaries in his field, is embarrassed to spot a judge in the audience. One ranking government official, finding himself in such a situation, singled out the judicial officer, saying, "You should be on this platform instead of me."

Desirous of benefiting as great a number as possible, the UP Law Center has not confined its participants solely to members of the bench and bar or to UP alumni. Everyone interested enough to attend is welcome. An anonymous member, fearful lest he be disqualified from attending, urged, "Keep up your policy of opening the Institute to everyone."

As the Law Center gains experience and expands its facilities, its potential for broadening its operations especially under its Division of Continuing Legal Education, is immensely magnified. As of today, one institute in a particular field of law is held every quarter. Whatever be the subject-matter, the lectures and discussions at these gatherings focus primarily on recent legal and administrative developments or rulings in these areas and controversial issues. Well-grounded on the basic concepts and

principles of their specialized fields of law, those who sign up for a course look forward to a discussion in depth, an analysis of problematical areas and authoritative answers to their practical questions. In addition, the publication of the proceedings assures the participants of the preservation of all matters taken up including their individual contributions to the discussions.

Where officials of judicial and administrative agencies take to the platform, the practitioners, hoping to catch the unwary speakers off-guard, spring questions relating to their cases pending before the governmental body concerned. As expected, the lecturers refuse to comment on *sub judice* matters. Others, uncertain of past courses of action taken, seek a reassuring official nod to set their minds at rest or to provide a basis for hiked fees. Many unabashedly admit attending for free expert legal advice.

Results

Some derive unexpected results from these meetings. "This was the closest I got to a beauty queen," confessed one. He was referring to his seatmate, a former carnival queen, who happens to be a lawyer and a landed proprietor besides. Incidentally, the beauteous lady sat through a lecture delivered by a former classmate who is now presiding judge in one of our courts.

There was a group of men and women who, after having attended one of the Institutes, returned to the Law Center and informed the director that they were now setting up their own seminar on the same subject for triple the fees they had themselves paid.

Those not as business-minded find in these sessions an opportunity to cultivate professional ties and develop contacts. Others grasp the rare chance of cornering an otherwise inaccessible government official or plying an "abogado de campanilla" with searching questions.

A top official of a government corporation in a past administration showed undue eagerness in propounding questions. Once on the floor, he kept up a stream of questions addressed to the speaker, who was an authority in his field. Before taking his seat, the interrogator explained that he wanted to be sure of his ground before appearing as an expert on this same subject at a tv show the following week.

Judging from comments of participants, formal evaluations conducted and snatches of conversations overheard, this program of continuing legal education is filling a long-felt need of lawyers, judges, and professionals for a refresher-type of a course where one can be assured of quality instruction and an opportunity for an interchange of opinions with colleagues, all at a nominal cost. To the inevitable crop of political appointees named to the bench who are long on influence but short on experience, the Law Center's program of continuing legal education comes as a veritable "life saver"; here, he can profit from the life-long practice of veteran lawyers. Undoubtedly, this phase of the Law Center's operation is opening up new vistas to the members of the legal circle and concomitantly establishing higher standards for the profession.—#

IT'S
SCHOOL
TIME
AGAIN
FOR
JUDGES
AND
LAWYERS

Fiction

CHILDREN

THE BOY stood, hands in pockets, in the center of *Plaza Martires* and slowly and sullenly pivoted on his right heel, the ruins filing his field of vision. The schoolhouse, with its front walls blown down, struck the boy's puzzled and hurt gaze with riotously disarranged desks; the bluish blackboards still bore, un-erased, the criss-crossed alien alphabets. The *Municipio's* rent roof was a crazy twist of galvanized iron sheets; the thick, seemingly impregnable walls were scarred deeply, the iron-bones of its framework stuck out, bent and rusting. And through the charred trunks of the *acacias* circumscribing the plaza, the boy's focus took in the isolated tower of the church where the bronze bell hung motionless and mute; the enemy had wrecked the ascending flights of stairs to the tower.

The boy stopped his revolution on his heel and stood stock-still, listening it seemed to some ancient agony. A shrill voice made him turn. It was Ponce.

"Paco," Ponce said, gasping the words. "I have been looking for you everywhere."

Ponce was Paco's age, both of them fourteen, but he was slightly shorter, his head reaching just a little over Paco's ear. He looked sick and hungry. He was the son of the town's painter. He limped, dragging his left foot behind him. During the evacuation he slid down a slippery slope in the mountains and broke his leg.

"Where did you go?"

"I was here all the time," Paco said.

"What have you been doing?"

"Nothing."

"Nothing?"

"Well, I looked around me," Paco gestured vaguely. "At all these."

"These?"

"The ruins."

"Oh," Ponce said, puzzled. He squatted on the ground and drew a circle with

AMONG THE

his forefinger.

"Let's play marbles," he said.

He fished out of his pockets a handful of marbles. The glass globes of various colors flashed in the sun. He laid them on the ground and arranged them in the middle of the circle. He stood up, polishing a marble he had saved from the pile on the ground. It was the bluest marble of the group. He closed one eye and through the unclosed eye he guided the fall of the marble. The marbles in the circle scattered in diverse directions.

"Only three out," Ponce said dejectedly as he surveyed the scattered marbles. After rearranging them, he stood up and offered the blue marble to Paco. "Here, it's your turn."

"What?" Paco said, staring at his friend almost without recognition.

"It's your turn," Ponce repeated.

"Oh," Paco sighed, as though in relief after a moment of crisis. "Yes," he said and took the marble. He held it between his thumb and pointing finger. The marble felt smooth and clean. He took aim, let fall, and the colors scattered. Only one black marble remained in the circle. It lay alone, like a hole in the ground, in the center of the circle.

"All out but one!" Ponce exclaimed. "You always win," he said, both in admiration and envy of his friend. He stooped down and picked up the marbles. Paco watched Ponce pick the scattered colors: orange, red, green, white, blue, and black. Ponce then rearranged them in the center of the circle.

"You first this time," he said, offering the blue marble to Paco.

"No more," Paco said, turning away.

"Okay," Ponce said, gathering the marbles and pouring them into his pockets. With his lame foot he obliterated the circle in the dust. "What do we play now?" he asked. "Hide and Seek maybe?"

"No more," Paco said, closing his eyes and shaking his head. Ponce waited, hoping for a change of mind. When Paco opened his eyes, he was smiling.

"Let's go somewhere," he said.

"Where?"

"Just follow me," he said mysteriously. Then he broke into a run across the plaza.

"Wait!" Ponce cried out, and pursued his friend with a limping gallop.

At the end of Paco's flight was the iron gate to the cemetery in the outskirts of the town. Paco waited for Ponce.

"It's the cemetery!" Ponce said, panting.

"Yes," Paco said, smiling. "Let's go in."

"Nooo!" Ponce wailed.

RUINS

"All right," Paco said, "I'll go in alone." He pushed the iron gate and stepped inside.

"Don't," Ponce said. Darkness was dropping from the mountains. Paco disappeared among the wingless angel statues and chipped crosses. Some of the angels were headless.

Ponce waited in the gathering darkness for his friend to return from the dominion of the dead. It seemed an eternity before he came back, his hands behind his back, a smile on his face.

"You stayed in there too long," wailed Ponce.

"I have something for you," Paco said.

"What is it?"

"Oh, you don't want it."

"Let me see it," Ponce insisted.

"All right," Paco said. "Here it is." Into the eager, waiting hands of Ponce suddenly materialized a skull. Ponce stared at the hairless, eyeless, fleshless thing in his hands, let out a scream, dropped the skull, and fled for home. Paco laughed like the devil.

Ponce's shocked and ghastly white face impaled in his mind, Paco walked home, taking a long route. Darkness was an ally, keeping secret the devilish smile on his face. He walked home slowly. The schoolhouse was totally silent. Candles burned dimly inside the church. Old women were chanting ancient prayers. The town was about to retire: windows were closing and mothers were shouting for their children to come home.

His father was waiting for him at the doorway.

"Paco," he said, and the boy knew his father was furious at him. What was it? As he came closer, he saw the whip sticking out from behind his father's back.

"Good evening," the boy said. His father withdrew into the sala.

"Lie down," his father commanded. What was it? He dropped to the floor obediently. Ponce, he thought.

"Ponce," he said drily.

"Yes," his father said. The whip slashed across his buttocks. He winced

Among the ruins where
he walked, skull and
samurai haunted him

by JOSE T. FLORES, Jr.

and bit into his lips. But he was smiling and kept thinking of Ponce's shocked face. After the punishment his father told him to eat his supper.

"Ponce was hysterical," his father said as he ate. "If you do it again I'll cut your fingers," his father warned. Paco nodded his head. He saw the old impassive face, the scar cutting across the nose. Paco shifted his gaze to the wall and stared at the *samurai* sword his father had hung there, evidence of an enemy officer shot down like a dog along the railroad tracks.

His mother came into the room, bearing fruits. She was a thin, shriveled woman, contrasting sharply with his father's bulky figure. She silently offered him the fruits and withdrew quickly back to the kitchen.

When he was alone in his room she came in and took his hand. She was trembling. She pressed his hand on her mouth. He wanted to pull his hand away but decided to let her kiss it when he felt her tears warmly dropping on it.

"You do not even cry anymore," she said sadly before she finally stood up and left him alone. He blew the light out in the room and lay in the dark, smiling at Ponce's shocked and terrified face.

Skull and *samurai* haunted him in the next days that followed. He kept away from Ponce, eluding Ponce's gestures to renew friendship. Paco walked among the ruins, aimlessly wandering among the twisted steel, the fallen beams, the gouged walls, the crevices and cleavages of the bombed-out buildings of the *municipio*, the schoolhouse, and the church.

Ponce lingered in the background, watching from a distance, hoping for that wave of the hand that would mean

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RUINS

"All right," Paco said, "I'll go in alone." He pushed the iron gate and stepped inside.

"Don't," Ponce said. Darkness was dropping from the mountains. Paco disappeared among the wingless angel statues and chipped crosses. Some of the angels were headless.

Ponce waited in the gathering darkness for his friend to return from the dominion of the dead. It seemed an eternity before he came back, his hands behind his back, a smile on his face.

"You stayed in there too long," wailed Ponce.

"I have something for you," Paco said. "What is it?"

"Oh, you don't want it."

"Let me see it," Ponce insisted.

"All right," Paco said. "Here it is."

Into the eager, waiting hands of Ponce suddenly materialized a skull. Ponce stared at the hairless, eyeless, fleshless thing in his hands, let out a scream, dropped the skull, and fled for home. Paco laughed like the devil.

Ponce's shocked and ghastly white face impaled in his mind, Paco walked home, taking a long route. Darkness was an ally, keeping secret the devilish smile on his face. He walked home slowly. The schoolhouse was totally silent. Candles burned dimly inside the church. Old women were chanting ancient prayers. The town was about to retire: windows were closing and mothers were shouting for their children to come home.

His father was waiting for him at the doorway.

"Paco," he said, and the boy knew his father was furious at him. What was it? As he came closer, he saw the whip sticking out from behind his father's back.

"Good evening," the boy said. His father withdrew into the sala.

"Lie down," his father commanded. What was it? He dropped to the floor obediently. Ponce, he thought.

"Ponce," he said drily.

"Yes," his father said. The whip slashed across his buttocks. He winced

Among the ruins where
he walked, skull and
samurai haunted him

by JOSE T. FLORES, Jr.

and bit into his lips. But he was smiling and kept thinking of Ponce's shocked face. After the punishment his father told him to eat his supper.

"Ponce was hysterical," his father said as he ate. "If you do it again I'll cut your fingers," his father warned. Paco nodded his head. He saw the old impassive face, the scar cutting across the nose. Paco shifted his gaze to the wall and stared at the *samurai* sword his father had hung there, evidence of an enemy officer shot down like a dog along the railroad tracks.

His mother came into the room, bearing fruits. She was a thin, shriveled woman, contrasting sharply with his father's bulky figure. She silently offered him the fruits and withdrew quickly back to the kitchen.

When he was alone in his room she came in and took his hand. She was trembling. She pressed his hand on her mouth. He wanted to pull his hand away but decided to let her kiss it when he felt her tears warmly dropping on it.

"You do not even cry anymore," she said sadly before she finally stood up and left him alone. He blew the light out in the room and lay in the dark, smiling at Ponce's shocked and terrified face.

Skull and *samurai* haunted him in the next days that followed. He kept away from Ponce, eluding Ponce's gestures to renew friendship. Paco walked among the ruins, aimlessly wandering among the twisted steel, the fallen beams, the gouged walls, the crevices and cleavages of the bombed-out buildings of the *municipio*, the schoolhouse, and the church.

Ponce lingered in the background, watching from a distance, hoping for that wave of the hand that would mean

June 22, 1966

The trek back to their Alma Mater is a combined intellectual-sentimental journey

by FLERIDA RUTH P. ROMERO

judges and fiscals are appointed by the President, probably the most highly political man in any democracy — he could hardly attain to the Presidency if he were not. Right off, therefore, there is a presumption that political considerations can play a part in his choices for the judiciary. I do not say that political considerations necessarily are involved but they can be, and even if this were to happen on very rare occasions — which is probably the case — those rare occasions just might deprive the judiciary of a highly deserving man or woman or, conversely, afflict it with a highly undeserving one.

Furthermore, any President, faced with his manifold duties, of which selecting the personnel of the Judiciary is only one, is physically incapable of giving the matter the attention it deserves. He naturally and inevitably must rely in most cases on his Secretary of Justice. Although purely political appointees to the post of Secretary of Justice are almost unknown in this country — in that respect we have perhaps been more fortunate than other countries — we have at present no guarantee that such a tradition will be continued. If politics should continue to degenerate as most people expect, there is no reason to suppose that at some future date the tradition will not be disregarded — an unscrupulous politician is a poor respecter of tradition, or of anything else for that matter, except the harsh realities of political opportunism.

In the event of a purely political Secretary of Justice being appointed, the consequences to the administration of justice in this country are easy to imagine, seeing the sort of people who would obtain appointments and rise in the judiciary. But even without such a calamitous eventuality, it is undeniable that the fortunes of judges and fiscals have at times depended on the political color Malacañang saw or imagined in them.

Political Favor

That the members of the judiciary should in any sense be dependent upon political favor for their advancement is outrageous. It is, unfortunately, a fact, not always, perhaps not often, but it is a fact. For a judge to be reassigned to a more convenient location, or promoted to a higher court, for an assistant fiscal to be promoted to fiscal or a fiscal to be made a judge, or for that matter for a lawyer to enter the Judiciary at all may require currying the favor of someone who controls votes, be he a professional politician or otherwise influential with particular groups.

The necessity of approval of an appointment by the Commission on Appointments is a corrective to the aforementioned danger. It can equally increase the danger, since appointments in the judiciary, like all other appointments subject to confirmation by that body, can be turned into a political football, especially when the President is at odds with congress. The process would have to be more subtle — it would be no less real.

I have by no means exhausted the disadvantages of our present system (e. g., I have not discussed prolonged vacancies in courts), I have merely sought to indicate them — some of them. There is, I believe, a way in which these disadvantages and others left unmentioned could be eliminated or at least drastically reduced. It would be to bring the present system more in line with the theory of the judiciary as a separate and equal branch of the government. Here I really and / To page 41

● STUDENTS OF the UP College of Law one day turned their heads for a second glance at a straggly group of people going up the staircase of Malcolm Hall. Among them one could pick out the dignified figure of a well-known judge and trailing him, a millionaire businessman whose name is a by-word in industrial circles and stock markets. Was there a convocation somewhere on the campus or were they calling on Dean Vicente Abad Santos? Accustomed to the sight of dignitaries and government functionaries visiting their school, the students cut short their speculations to rush to their classes.

Had they been persistent enough to follow the distinguished guests, they would have been surprised to discover that these men were, like them, enrolled in school — with one difference. This group of judges, lawyers, businessmen, and accountants, were well-established in their professions. Adjusting their crowded calendars, they had looked forward to this opportunity of "clearing the mental cobwebs" that had accumulated through the years and of updating themselves on recent developments in their respective fields at the UP Law Center.

Prime Beneficiaries

Judges and practising lawyers now consider themselves singularly fortunate in being the prime beneficiaries of this new institution which has been set up on the UP campus under the directorship of Prof. Crisolito Pascual. Created by Congress in June 15, 1964 within the framework of the UP College of Law, the Law Center seeks to expand the role of the College from being merely a training ground for future lawyers to a dynamic agency which will contribute directly to the improvement of the administration of justice.

Prior to the formal organization of the Law Center, the College of Law, through its Continuing Legal Education and Research Unit, conducted a three-day institute on the Revised Rules of Court, the main lecturer being the chairman of the committee which undertook the revision of these procedural rules. So well-received was it by members of the bench and the bar that the Center, once officially established, drew up a schedule of institutes in different fields of law in response to the clamor for similar programs.

Made the subject of annual offerings were the twin areas of labor-management relations law and tax law in view of their rapid development and increasing importance. Thus far, two annual institutes have been held in each of these fields. Recently, approximately 200 persons attended the pioneer *Institute on Corporate Practice and Securities*. Spurred by the enthusiastic response, the UP Law Center has committed itself to offering this course on a continuing basis. Already in the blueprint stage is an Institute on Fair Labor Standards and Welfare Legislation.

Most of these programs are held on a straight three-day basis to afford those in the provinces an opportunity to attend.

Precisely to accommodate these out-of-towners, the Law Center has stuck to its practice of scheduling these programs continuously for a certain num-

ber of days instead of staggering them to suit the convenience of the Manila practitioners. Law alumni, in particular, take pains to make the long trek back to their Alma Mater on a combined intellectual-sentimental journey.

Members of the bench, humble enough to admit they can still learn a thing or two from others, sit side by side with practitioners who plead in their "salas." One can sympathize with a confused participant who kept on addressing the chair as "Your Honor." At judicial conferences, however, such as the one on *The Application and Graduation of Penalties*, everyone except the moderator was either a judge or a fiscal. Not infrequently, a lecturer, regarded as one of the legal luminaries in his field, is embarrassed to spot a judge in the audience. One ranking government official, finding himself in such a situation, singled out the judicial officer, saying, "You should be on this platform instead of me."

Desirous of benefiting as great a number as possible, the UP Law Center has not confined its participants solely to members of the bench and bar or to UP alumni. Everyone interested enough to attend is welcome. An anonymous member, fearful lest he be disqualified from attending, urged, "Keep up your policy of opening the Institute to everyone."

As the Law Center gains experience and expands its facilities, its potential for broadening its operations especially under its Division of Continuing Legal Education, is immensely magnified. As of today, one institute in a particular field of law is held every quarter. Whatever be the subject-matter, the lectures and discussions at these gatherings focus primarily on recent legal and administrative developments or rulings in these areas and controversial issues. Well-grounded on the basic concepts and

principles of their specialized fields of law, those who sign up for a course look forward to a discussion in depth, an analysis of problematical areas and authoritative answers to their practical questions. In addition, the publication of the proceedings assures the participants of the preservation of all matters taken up including their individual contributions to the discussions.

Where officials of judicial and administrative agencies take to the platform, the practitioners, hoping to catch the unwary speakers off-guard, spring questions relating to their cases pending before the governmental body concerned. As expected, the lecturers refuse to comment on *sub judice* matters. Others, uncertain of past courses of action taken, seek a reassuring official nod to set their minds at rest or to provide a basis for hiked fees. Many unabashedly admit attending for free expert legal advice.

Results

Some derive unexpected results from these meetings. "This was the closest I got to a beauty queen," confessed one. He was referring to his seatmate, a former carnival queen, who happens to be a lawyer and a landed proprietor besides. Incidentally, the beauteous lady sat through a lecture delivered by a former classmate who is now presiding judge in one of our courts.

There was a group of men and women who, after having attended one of the Institutes, returned to the Law Center and informed the director that they were now setting up their own seminar on the same subject for triple the fees they had themselves paid.

Those not as business-minded find in these sessions an opportunity to cultivate professional ties and develop contacts. Others grasp the rare chance of cornering an otherwise inaccessible government official or plying an "abogado de campanilla" with searching questions.

A top official of a government corporation in a past administration showed undue eagerness in propounding questions. Once on the floor, he kept up a stream of questions addressed to the speaker, who was an authority in his field. Before taking his seat, the interrogator explained that he wanted to be sure of his ground before appearing as an expert on this same subject at a tv show the following week.

Judging from comments of participants, formal evaluations conducted and snatches of conversations overheard, this program of continuing legal education is filling a long-felt need of lawyers, judges, and professionals for a refresher-type of a course where one can be assured of quality instruction and an opportunity for an interchange of opinions with colleagues, all at a nominal cost. To the inevitable crop of political appointees named to the bench who are long on influence but short on experience, the Law Center's program of continuing legal education comes as a veritable "life saver"; here, he can profit from the life-long practice of veteran lawyers. Undoubtedly, this phase of the Law Center's operation is opening up new vistas to the members of the legal circle and concomitantly establishing higher standards for the professio

IT'S SCHOOL TIME AGAIN FOR JUDGES AND LAWYERS

SET FREEDOM'S...

From page 23 / truly must apologize to the members of the judiciary and the legal profession for treading on unknown territory — I do not apologize to those politicians and to any others who have exerted a baneful influence on our judiciary.

First of all, it would seem logical that the Department of Justice, a department under the Chief Executive and therefore under a branch of the government separate from the judiciary, should be restricted to the functions of the legal department of any corporation. It should advise the government on points of law and be the government's lawyers, possibly also provide the indigent with free legal aid. *It should not* sit in judgment on the acts of the members of the judiciary nor scrutinize them, except perhaps when the government finds it necessary to take criminal action against some member or other.

The judiciary itself should be freed from its galling practical subordination to both the executive and the legislative branches of government. The recruitment and advancement of those who shall serve in the courts of law should be placed squarely and solely in the hands of the Supreme Court or some body under its control.

Who, better than those who have spent a lifetime in the service of the law, can determine who is and who is not qualified to belong to the judiciary or be promoted in it? The Supreme Court itself should be filled according to a clear-cut system based on experience, ability, and merit.

Internal Autonomy

Congress could pass a law laying down certain qualifications for members of the judiciary and their promotion, but such a law should be sufficiently flexible not to encumber the independent operations of the judiciary as a body selecting its own personnel. Such a law should be made a part of the Constitution, so that it may not be subject to the whims and fancies of successive Congresses.

And such a law should maintain intact the right of the judiciary to a degree of internal autonomy similar to the rights of the two Houses of Congress to establish their own internal rules and procedures. The Bar Association possibly should enjoy an official advisory capacity with regard to the judiciary and the Supreme Court, the highest embodiment of judicial power, but such an advisory power should be very carefully studied and of course could in nowise include interference in the operation of the courts as courts.

The creation of a more truly independent judiciary, independent not only as to its legal decisions but also as to the appointment, promotion, and discipline of its members, would of course bring a host of problems.

For one thing, the judiciary, as distinct from the department of justice, would have to be expanded tremendously, since many of the administrative functions of the Department would pass to it, with the need for the corresponding personnel.

The task of selecting and promoting the members of the judiciary would overburden the Supreme Court even more than at present. To cope with this difficulty, either of two steps, possibly both, would be necessary. The number of Supreme Court justices would have to be increased so that it could sit in more than two divisions and only in certain

extreme cases should the Court have to sit in banc. Or, the cases appealable to the Supreme Court should be drastically reduced. As this could result in an increase of work for the Court of Appeals and certain special courts, the creation of additional courts might be necessary, as well as further limitation of cases appealable to courts below the Supreme Court.

More Judges, Fiscals

Since in rather important cases people are reluctant to leave their fate in the hands of one man — the judge — and thus far the jury system is by and large considered inadvisable in this country, the solution might be to have the increased number of unappealable cases — unappealable that is to the Supreme Court of Appeals — heard by several

judges sitting in banc.

This would in turn require an increase in the number of judges. The general expansion of the whole court system would unavoidably involve an increase in the number of fiscals. This would of course help to implement the right of every man to a fair and speedy trial. It would also draw, due to the greater number of posts available, more law graduates from politics to the courts, not a bad prospect by any means.

In all this, what would remain for the executive and the legislative? To the executive, legal action against members of the judiciary if the judiciary failed to take the initiative itself, but only in well-defined cases and in well-defined circumstances. Congress, that is, the Commission on Appointments, should retain the power to reject ap-

pointments and promotion in the judiciary, but only for the lack of the qualifications specified by the law previously suggested.

Such a revision in the position and functions of the judiciary in our governmental system would, I believe, bring our government more in line with the theory of separate and equal branches of government.

It would give greater and truer meaning to the theory of checks and balances.

It would unfortunately entail a considerable increase in expenses for the judiciary (with a corresponding decrease, however, in the budget of the department of justice). An increase in expenditure would be admittedly unpopular at a time of national poverty, but is such an increase too high a price for the safeguarding of justice?—#

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MALANG'S MENAGERIE



'PULIS! PULIS!'

TOP OF THE WEEK

by C. PRIGO

● **PRESIDENT Marcos** has extended the speech ban until the adjournment of the current session of Congress on May 19. — *News item*

Gentle hint to our solons.

Even a very much surprised solon cannot say, "It made me speechless."

What, no half-day?

Unfair to government employes, who do only half-work.

Nawasa must make a storm in order to meet immediately its normal total delivery of 170 million gallons of water a day in the metropolitan area. — *News item*

If the Nawasa cannot make a storm, any brainstorm will do.

To the government employes who are glum about the President's no-half-day edict, here's a piece of advice:

Fry now, play later.



Nawasa Board Chairman Moreno Saturday night accused Director Jose Llanes of blocking emergency measures of the agency intended to solve the water crisis. — *News item*

If the quarrel escalates to a duel, we suggest water pistols at six paces. Then the two would not be able to harm each other as their water pistols would not have any ammunition.

President Marcos has appointed a woman as acting administrator of the National Cottage Industries Development Authority.

If you want to know why a woman must head a cottage industries entity, the answer is simple: Our principal cottage industry involves some kind of labor which only women can perform.

FAKE DRIVERS' LICENSES INCREASING — *Headline*
Licenses or drivers?

The National Science Development Board has supported the establishment of an incinerator to dispose of Manila's garbage.

Manila's garbage is really a burning question.

Teacher: Spell *sex*.

Newspaper-reading pupil: C-I-S.

When he stepped off the plane, ex-President Macapagal asked what happened to the \$30 million borrowed by the Nawasa from the World Bank.

What's sad about it is that the money did not even go down the drain.

Congressman Caram is accused of witch-hunting in colleges and universities.

Which is witch?

Columnist's comment on the sloppy plumbing work at the Luneta toilets: "In the place, every pipe leaks."

Everybody too.

PEKING PAPERS CENSORED — *Headline*

No fair peeking.

House hawks passed the Vietnam Bill 46 to 6.

That confirms our suspicion that hawk and the eagle are of the same feather.

Two members of a road-building team and a six-year-old boy were ambushed in a forested area in Nueva Ecija and then beheaded.

The only advice we can offer in tight situations like this ambush is not to lose your head.

Barbara Ann, married for 16 years to movie actor Steve Brodie, was awarded a divorce after she told the superior court that her husband would go out to mail a letter and not return for six or seven hours.

If Barbara wants to be posted on where her hubby was doing during those seven hours, we offer this educated guess: he was playing post office.

The Forest Products Research Institute (UP) in Laguna is offering a course on wood identification.

That would be useful in distinguishing political timber from wooden politicians.

Russia's Luna 10, which she sent orbiting around the moon, is the first artificial satellite of the moon.

Russia can really make satellites for satellites.

If you are a young man, or even not so young, traveling is so broadening.

Pretty broads abroad.

During tourist season, grass looks greener abroad.

Grass widows too.—#

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Name Age
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THE FAIR H

● THE PAST elections which were conducted disgracefully found the youth relatively inactive. Compared to the extremely vocal and pugnacious activities of elderly groups so energetically engaged in namecalling, mudslinging, and other more strictly political activities, the youth were practically silent.

With the exception of the ill-starred PPP effort, in which some young people seem to have worked with something approaching fanaticism, one had the impression that the youth were not particularly interested. The youth were not politically involved, whether in their majority or in the likeliest segment, the articulate university population. It is hard to avoid the suspicion that dislike for the cheap politicking outweighed whatever enthusiasm the youth might have developed for particular candidates and dampened the fires of commitment. Not, of course, that the youth did not vote.

The present composition of our population, with its heavy preponderance of young people, would have made a big total vote impossible if the young voters had stayed home. But between trudging to the polls and waxing enthusiastic, there is a world of difference; between being propelled to the voting booth by the compulsion of conscience and going out to the highways and byways to proclaim one's political faith there yawns a gulf. The deliberate attempt to involve our young people, failed miserably. Any politician who hoped to use the youth as a mere tool of victory was disappointed. Those of us who, from higher motives, hoped to see the youth active — one way or the other, but active — were equally disappointed.

Strangely enough, the Vietnam Aid Bill has been a blessing in disguise for the latter group. It proved that young people have interests higher than James Bond movies and Beatle styles. Those of us anxious to hear the voice of youth, have now heard it loud and clear. The voice is not a unanimous one where views on the Aid itself are concerned. But the voice is there, it has been raised, and when a voice is raised, whatever it may say, one thing is clear — that voice means to be heard and it means to be heard because it is convinced of its right to be heard. At last! . . .

Youth's Lack Of Influence

Any human society inevitably has defects as well as redeeming graces, and our society is no exception. But ours not only has defects, it is positively plagued with them. Among the most serious, I count the lack of influence of the youth on public affairs. It is doubtless convenient for some people, but it is unjust, it is impolitic, and it is stupid. That it is not illegal is no defense, for a thing may be legal and yet immoral.

"*La bella esperanza de la Patria mia,*" "the fair hope of my native land." Rizal's description of the youth has been used so often that it has been turned into a cliché. It is the fate of great men to fashion lapidary phrases which are then seized upon for tawdry oratory until the words lose their power to provoke thought and inspire action. "The fair hope of my native land," is of the number of such phrases.

If we think of Rizal's words at all (and no one bothers to read the whole poem for its true meaning), what do we have in the back of our mind? If I do not misjudge the average mentality of people my age (40) and over — and I believe I do not — Rizal's words conjure a vision of the future only. After all, a hope is for something yet to come. What one already has, one does not hope for. The idea is that the youth are the hope of the country because in the future, *when they shall have lost their youth and attained our mature years*, they shall assume the burdens which we shall by then be unwilling or rather unable to carry.

They are to be held in reserve, to assume an entirely subordinate role until the weight of years and the course of nature has incapacitated us to play the exclusive role that we now play. Then they are to step into our shoes, having been shaped by our wisdom (if it is that), formed to our taste, including our prejudices, our shortcomings and the mentality of a setting generation.

This process has been followed time and again in history, and followed successfully. The same protests we voice against the youth, who are not as people used to be, were raised.

There is record of an Egyptian complaint thousands of years old, that the youth were not as they used to be. Nevertheless the process was followed successfully. The result? The petrified civilization of Egypt. The admiration that this ancient civilization excites is undeniably well deserved. But after it reached its early flowering, it suffered from an essential defect — it ceased to grow, it no longer developed, it no longer changed. In a word, while it seemed to live on, it lost all dynamism — it was dead. It took only the Greek and Roman invasions to perform the burial service, and the burial was not particularly honorable. All this, because the means had been found to pour each succeeding generation into the age-old mold.

The well-being of society was equated with the interdiction of any shadow of change. It was always the ways of the ancients that constituted the pattern for all future ages. Past things were admired not as remarkable achievements in their time, to serve as a springboard for greater achievements in the present, which in

turn would serve as stepping stones for even greater achievements in the future. The past was erected into an absolute standard and both present and future had worth only insofar as they were the reflection of the past.

Let it be borne in mind that the stability of Egyptian life did not involve a few basic principles, allowing for progressive change outside of them. Life was determined down to the last details of manners, and all prescriptions were considered equally important or at least equally immutable. The continuity of life through the ages had a certain undeniable beauty, but this continuity was not that of a growing tree but that of a pyramid, as stony and as dead.

Historical developments proved too strong for any petrified society to develop in Europe. The spread of Christianity made the development of a petrified society impossible. By limiting immutable principles to the substance of the Christian religion, it made dynamic development in other fields not only possible; it made it normal, desirable, and praiseworthy.

Role Of Christianity

By proclaiming certain principles alone immutable, Christianity made coherent development possible, since such development is impossible without a stable center around which it can revolve. Complete, total change without a point of rest results not in progress but in chaos. The lack of basic convictions leads not to dynamism but to its breakdown, since total uncertainty leads to mental confusion and confusion is not an atmosphere conducive to progress. When a society does not know its why and wherefore, nor its goal and why those goals are ultimately desirable, it slows down and finally stops working for those goals. These questions can be answered only by basic convictions and these Christianity provided and provides.

One of the most dynamic civilizations the world has ever seen is the Islamic, which at one time extended from India and Central Asia through Africa and up to Spain. It, too, was based on central principles. The service to Allah (Islam implies the surrender or obedience to God), involved not a surrender to nature but its dynamic subjugation and conquest through the different branches of knowledge, the arts, and politics.

For a progressive civilization, two extremes are, therefore, to be avoided — a total immobility of life and knowledge in all its aspects leading to mummification, on the one hand; and a total drift without firm foundations leading to chaos and ultimate stagnation, on the other. One extreme as well as the other can lead to one and only one end —



the loss of dynamism and progress, the inability to move ahead and overcome difficulties. In a word, death.

Where do we as a nation stand?

Our society is different from the old Christian and Islamic cultures. Cardinal Santos himself said on one occasion that ours is a pluralistic society. Ours is a secular rather than a religious State (which is not to say that it is atheistic or anti-religious — our Constitution begins thus: The Filipino people, imploring the aid of Divine Providence). Our religious beliefs (supremely important as they are) do not coincide. But at least our convictions about basic democratic tenets do, even if our reasons for those convictions differ. Of the rights of the individual, his obligations to his fellowmen, the State as the servant rather than the master of the citizens, free choice of those who shall govern by those who will be governed, in accordance with laws and not with caprice, etc. We thus have what we might call a hard core of civic beliefs around which our social and political life revolves and can progress. But there is a difficulty.

Just as in the particular matter of the Filipino mentality, which is almost hopelessly at odds with itself, our society is at odds with itself. Despite our democratic convictions, our attitude to-

Rizal's la bella esperanza de la Patria mia has become merely a vision of the future. He meant

HOPE-NOW!

by MANUEL L. QUEZON, Jr.



ward life and toward change has a strong flavor of archaism. "Tradition," it has been said, "is the democracy of the dead." Well and good. It would be foolish to stifle the voice of the past. We are only being sensible when we listen, to learn whatever it may have to teach us. I believe that is a great deal. Tradition, after all, is the product of experience, and I refuse to believe that our forefathers were too stupid to learn anything worthwhile from experience. But it is even more foolish to stifle the voice of the present, and what one might call the unadulterated voice of the present is the voice of the youth, for the elderly are in a sense already the past.

I said it is unjust that the youth should have no influence on public affairs. It is unjust because our youth are part of society, with a stake in it like the rest of us.

If the casting of a vote fulfills the requirements of participation in public affairs, then our youth, at least most of them, are enjoying their rights. But participation in the life of a democratic society entails a good deal more than the simple act of voting. I conceive of a democratic society as having a democratic life, and there is a good deal more to that life than just casting one's vote. There should be an interplay of forces,

of groups, of minds, of activities and interests, members of the same group acting upon each other and different groups interacting among themselves, so that the total life of society is the dynamic outgrowth of the life of its members.

A Democratic Society

Under such a system, it is not merely the government which is democratic, the entire social activity in its different aspects is democratic. I readily grant that such an idea is an ideal not fully attainable, but it can be approximated, and to the degree that it is approximated, to that degree we have a democratic society.

When we deny the youth a hearing and not the mere possibility but the reality of exerting influence on society, we attenuate the truly democratic character of our society to a dangerous degree, because we exclude from the interplay of forces a considerable segment of the population. With the youth pretty well excluded from influence, the business of governing is no longer the extension of the life of the entire society, it is the extension of the life of a part of society. The result is a distortion of representative government, since the action of government will not be repre-

sentative of the entire society, in fact it will not be representative of what may well be its majority.

I said that the youth have a stake in society like the rest of us. That is not quite accurate. They have a greater stake. What is done today will affect the elderly little; at any rate it will not affect them long, for the excellent reason that they will not be around long to be affected by it. Our young people will be around for a long time and whatever is decided and accomplished now, for good or ill, shall inevitably affect them for a long time to come. Those who have reached a certain age, with anxiety or relief as the case may be, can say with Louis XV "after me, the Deluge." The youth may find themselves in the position of his successor Louis XVI who lost his head.

It is only fair and just — that all the generations which are able to participate actively in the life of our society should do so. As a matter of fact, we are cheating ourselves if we do not allow and indeed encourage it. Statistically speaking, the tremendous number of young people, say from 18 to 30, must include many who could and would help push this country ahead, if given a chance. Of course, in spite of obstacles, some young people may manage to assert themselves

and attain importance despite the artificial obstacles we put in their way, just as a few Negroes managed to rise in American life despite the well-nigh insurmountable barrier of race prejudice.

In a country where politics and government play a predominant role in nearly every field, the role of youth in the political field is of special significance. And here, the situation is anything but encouraging. Some fairly young men have been appointed to prominent positions, but as far as political parties are concerned, the influence of young people is practically nil. This is one of the factors which make possible the continuation of the kind of partisanship which is ruining the coun-

The style of politics now in vogue can go on simply because so many of those in undisputed control want it to continue. The reader is familiar with the saying that you can't teach an old dog new tricks.

The old politicians have grown old in the techniques of political management current today. Whatever may be said in favor of such techniques — if anything can be said in favor of such techniques — few will deny that they have led to appalling results in many ways.

Perpetuating Power

The closed circle of political cronies is conducive to whitewashing whenever something improper or downright immoral is discovered. The "equity of the incumbent" theory for instance is an absurdity traceable at least in part to political cronyism. It is a way to perpetuate the old politicians in power by shutting out other aspirants to the party nomination and usually to election, since few are able to win an election without party support. How anyone can establish any sort of equity in a position (that is, a kind of a right to it) to be freely given or denied by the electorate is a mystery. To claim that the incumbent has a right, ahead of others in the party, to the nomination, but not to the elective post itself, does not justify the theory. It artificially limits the party's choice of candidates and ultimately the people's choice. In the last analysis, insofar as it is within the party's power, we would be burdened with the same individual term after term, regardless of our dissatisfaction with his public service, until he steps aside voluntarily out of the "goodness" of his heart.

What almost amounts to commuting between political parties, as well as the frequent independent Liberal and Nacionalista candidates running against the official candidates, may be partly attributable to the "equity of the incumbent" principle. The relative permanence of an elective official may have its advantages, but it also carries / To page 20

El Mestizo's on-to-Vietnam speech hits two birds (dove and hawk) with one stone



MANNY'S FINEST HOUR

by LORENZO J. CRUZ

● NOT A FEW who saw and heard Rep. Emmanuel Pelaez deliver his sponsorship speech on the Vietnam aid measure last week said they were impressed by his arguments and style of delivery. Comments ranged from "brilliant" to "the best argument for the measure so far."

One "dove" in the Lower House was even reported to have approached Mr. Pelaez in the midst of the applause and, congratulating him, remarked: "You almost convinced me into voting for the bill."

Forget that only the night before the congressman from Misamis Oriental was leading a move to have a vote on the bill deferred. Forget that the political situation in Saigon was explosive. The point is, among Mr. Pelaez's many turnabouts, it was — so far — his best. As one morning newspaper described it, it was his shining hour.

For one who has changed party affiliations about half a dozen times, and survived it politically, it is perhaps easy to defend even an indefensible position, in this case the American war in Vietnam.

With a serious mien, Mr. Pelaez read through his 21-page speech calmly but forcefully. People in the galleries and on the floor itself listened attentively to what he had to say.

Mr. Pelaez argued his case master-

fully, one must admit, bolstering his position with the authority of a former foreign secretary, and quoting even from the Recto Reader!

For all his seeming logic, however, Pelaez overlooked one basic fact: There is something more to the Vietnam war than the democracy-is-good, communism-is-bad argument of the Caram variety.

Only those who would deny a people their right to aspire for genuine independence would deny that the Vietnam war is as much a fight against foreign domination now as it was when the French tried to return to Indochina.

Lost Revolution

That the Western nations failed to see it, while the communists — seeing this — took advantage of the situation is discussed lengthily by Robert Shaplen, famed American correspondent and author, in his book *The Lost Revolution*. He says, for instance, that "a revolutionary condition existed in Indochina all along, one that should have been regarded from the start by the Western nations for what it was, a truly Asian revolution representing the legitimate hopes of people throughout the region to be free of any domination, either that of their former colonial masters, of old or new native tyrants or satraps, or that of the communists."

Now the Vietnamese are casualties in a war escalated by the United States simply because the latter failed to grasp the true meaning of the revolution against tyrants and satraps like Ngo Dinh Diem.

Taking this into consideration, the arguments of Mr. Pelaez would, to borrow a phrase currently used in the Vietnam context, fall like dominoes.

But putting it aside, one can still examine many of the arguments advanced by Mr. Pelaez.

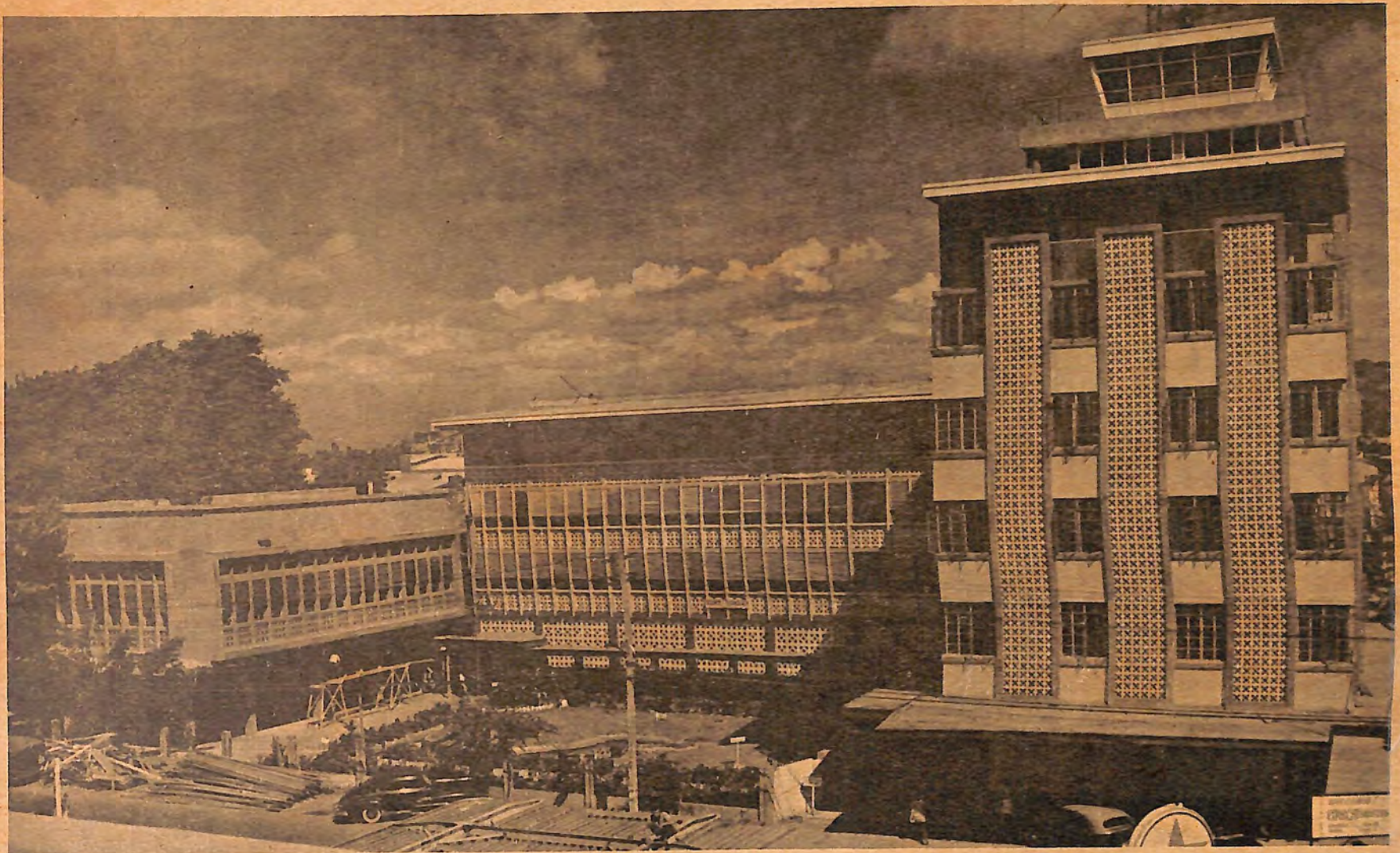
For instance, Mr. Pelaez cites "constants" in our foreign policy. We have opted for collective security, he tells us, and now we must do our part. The US is fighting for democracy in Vietnam and it is to the interest of our national security to do what we have always done; that is, to act on the basis of collective security, as we did in Korea. In other words, we must also join the Vietnam fray because we are committed under our security arrangements.

Useless Talk

But no one has ever proved, and indeed Sen. Lorenzo Tañada denies, that we are obliged — under the present circumstances — to send troops to Vietnam under Seato or under the mutual defense treaty with the United States.

Mr. Pelaez wanted to know from critics of the Vietnam bill: "What is your

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July 13, 1966

Man is blessed with more and more free time
and cursed even more with the problem of what to do with it
by MANUEL L. QUEZON, Jr.

THE LEISURE PROBLEM



● THE ADVANCES made in science and technology have not been an un-mixed blessing; they have created problems as well as solved them. One is peculiar to our time. For the first time in history, leisure is becoming increasingly a common possession of men. As the standard of living rises, as machines take the burden of work off men's shoulders and the progress of automation shifts the job of supervising machines over to other machines, leaving human beings with an absolute minimum of work to be done, man is blessed with more and more free time and cursed more and more with the problem of what to do with it.

Due to our slow scientific development, we are not conscious of the problem in this country, nor will a large segment of the population be faced with it for many years to come. Nevertheless it is best to be aware of it well in advance since the method of coping with it cannot be developed overnight and may well take as long to work out its details as time required to bring us the leisure problem.

In economically advanced countries, particularly in the United States of America, wages have been rising steadily even as working hours per week and per year are being shortened periodically. The inventions of science and technology, the wonders of yesterday, the prized possession of a privileged few, are taken for granted and have become the common possession of all but the very poor. Yesterday's luxuries are today's necessities. Where the two-car garage used to be a mark of opulence, all it indicates today is that the family cannot be called poor by American or European standards, and if unmarried children lived with their parents as long as they do here, a four-car garage would be a necessity. Television is, of course, so very common now that *not* to have one has almost turned into a status symbol, a proof that the owner of the house is too intellectual to bother with anything so pedestrian — to be television-less may well be the affectation of an intellectual or artistic snob. There just might be a connection between the increase in activity aimed at social upliftment of the "poor", and an uneasy feeling over having so many facilities for relaxation and pleasure and the senselessness or tediousness of using one's free time for more and even more of the same. In other words, "all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy" but no work and all play makes life itself dull. Time begins to hang heavy on people's hands and they do not know what to do with it.

In the fairly distant past such a situation was already known to the very wealthy. The ruling classes had no need to work for a living, so they ruled, on the whole I think, well, taking into account what was expected of them in those times, and making / To page 28

THE LEISURE PROBLEM continued

Most Filipinos are still able to relax and enjoy a quiet evening alone



From page 26 / due allowance for the paternalistic flavor of government which we today would find unacceptable, but may have been unavoidable at a time when education was not widespread. What time was left over from the activity of governing was devoted to the chase and similar genteel sports, or to cultivating the mind or one's artistic propensities. Even courtship took time, since it was accompanied with a good deal of protocol and ceremony which we would find rather quaint and extremely amusing.

Entertainment and pleasure involving as it usually did some intellectual or physical effort on the part of the pleasure-seeker, was largely home-made and therefore set its own limits on what the leisure class could want or use. Even going on vacation was not a wholly effortless affair, due to the primitive means of transportation. Conversation was actually considered an art, and like all art required concentration and expertise to be duly exercised!

Today's leisure class comprises more and more the entire population. Today's leisure class works, but it certainly has leisure in abundance. The bourgeois idea of a prosperous middle class and the Marxist idea of the working class, theoretically contradictory, are in practice ending up by being the same thing. As the base of middle class life grows broader in capitalist countries and the conditions improve in communist countries, the bourgeois mentality is actually discarded and actually despised by the bourgeoisie, while the proletarian life approaches that of the bourgeoisie ever more closely. This trend cannot, but bring about a change away from what used to be considered the proletarian mentality toward something else which is neither proletarian nor bourgeois.

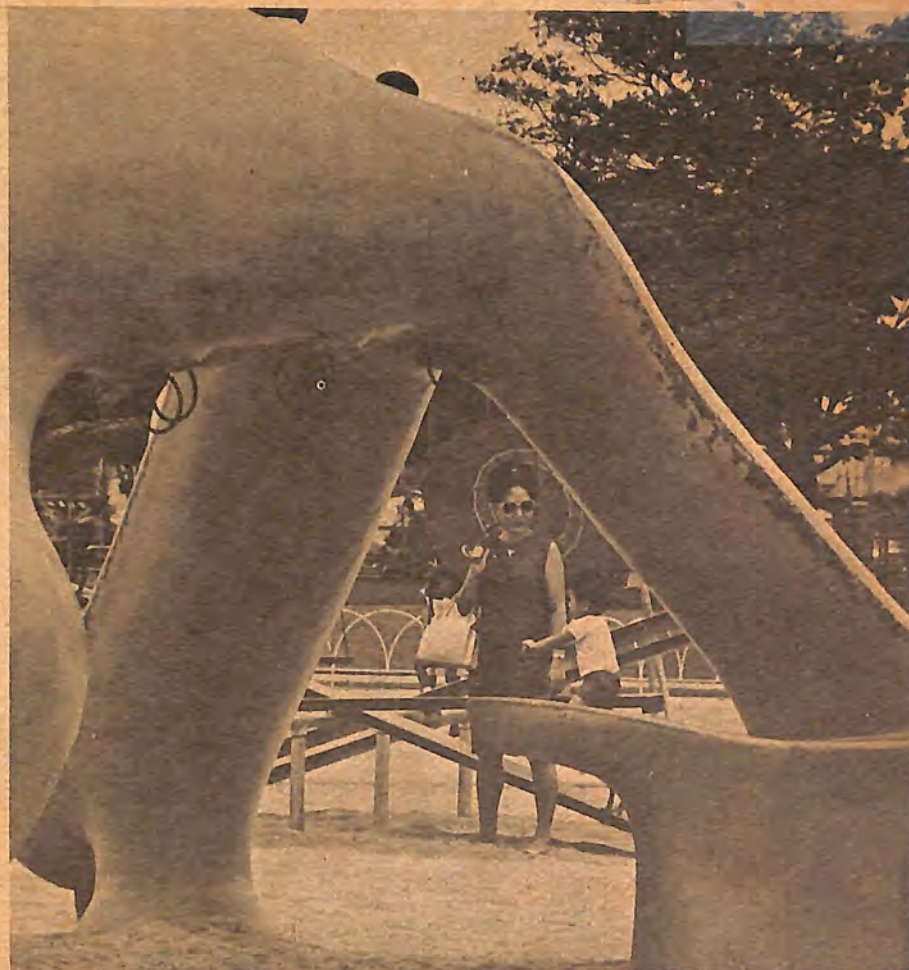
Who really has the last word, who can claim the victory is, I think, irrelevant, since the ultimate gainer is humanity — this mutual approach and accommodation may be the means devised by Providence to save mankind from mutual annihilation. Whether this third type of mentality will in itself, apart

from its side effect of preventing war, constitute a benefit for mankind in the long run, will depend on just what that mentality will be. At this point, we can only try to nudge it in what we consider the proper direction, then wait and see.

But, returning to the leisure time of today's prosperous people . . . their entertainment is more and more of a passive variety. It is served up to them on a silver or, perhaps more appropriately, plastic platter — they need make no efforts beyond driving to the movies or switching on the television set or the stereo.

Digest Mentality

Walking, (a pastime of yesterday's leisure class) more than two of three hundred yards is not done. If one goes on vacation, one does not mount a horse or climb into a rattling, swaying carriage to arrive hot and dusty or frozen and muddy, but in either case tired; one steps into a plane or air-conditioned train or ship, or drives out in a car on a superhighway, where the hardships are confined to a possible traffic-jam, hard on the nerves rather than the body. The ease with which entertainment is had; the swiftness with which people travel, leaves people with more time on their hands than they can use. What Pitirim M. Sorokin in his book "The Crisis Of Our Age" described as our contemporary sensate culture has just about reached its final stage — all pleasures and all goals are for the satisfaction of the senses, and that sort of thing palls very quickly. One may tire of thinking, one does not get bored with it — pleasures of the senses can both tire and bore. And, in fact, people seldom do any serious, deep thinking; they are satisfied to let others do it for them and have it served to them in convenient, easy-to-digest morsels, hence the popularity of slogans, one minute meditations and "Digests" of other magazines. The senses, their satisfaction, the "sensational" — that is the mad quest of the day, and those of us who still remember our schooldays will recall that sensation easi-



ly reaches saturation, as the phenomenon of sensory fatigue shows — we stop feeling and stop enjoying it.

Why Worry?

To increase the leisure time of people even more, although a good thing in itself, will harm them, actually infect them with an unsatisfiable restlessness, unless the idea of pleasures undergoes a radical change, as including pleasures of the mind, and the notion of leisure is changed, from that of time for the mad pursuit of the will-o'-the-wisp of sensate pleasure to that of time to be used for something pleasant but also useful, although different and providing a change from one's workaday activities.

I explained early in this article why the problem of excess free time should be considered by Filipinos now, although the conditions making it possible lie in the indefinite future. It must sound strange, even ironic, to the average working Filipino that we should start worrying now about the problem of how a worker should use spare time — he is

content enough to be able to relax in a chair or drop off to sleep after an exhausting long day's work, if indeed he is able to do that instead of doing some other extra work to supplement his inadequate salary. He would be quite satisfied with a peaceful Sunday at home or visiting friends and relatives, if indeed he does not have to work on Sunday also in order to eat on Sunday, or do the chores which exhaustion after work did not allow him to do during the week.

But there is an excellent reason for studying the problem of leisure now. Most Filipinos are not yet as sensation-mad as the people of other countries. They can still enjoy a quiet evening at home with the family, or peaceful conversation with friends, or even just sitting or lying in silence and relaxation, enjoying the very silence and absence of activity. There is still time, through all the means available to society, particularly education, through the schools, the mass media of communications, the pulpit, the home — to make them aware, or to keep them aware of those pleasures, those forms of leisure, which are not solely of the senses. They can still learn, as their education progresses — if they get the kind of education to which they are entitled — that the highest and most lasting pleasures are those of the mind and the spirit, and good art is also of these; and that leisure time can be put to better uses than the mad, and ultimately unsatisfiable pursuit of voluptuousness, and that for those better uses of leisure time, no amount of leisure time will ever be excessive. But if we fail to take the necessary steps now, when the time of greater leisure is at hand it will not bring enrichment to the lives of our people — they will merely step from the treadmill of work to the treadmill of the insatiable, restless, mentally dulling pursuit of hedonistic pleasures. The first treadmill at least results in something worthwhile — the sustenance of life and the production of results. The second can only lead, sooner or later, to a despair-filled and pathetic sense of futility and emptiness.—#

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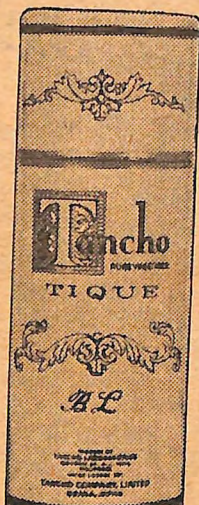
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ES OVER A MEETING TO DISCUSS PLANS FOR THE RURAL CONGRESS

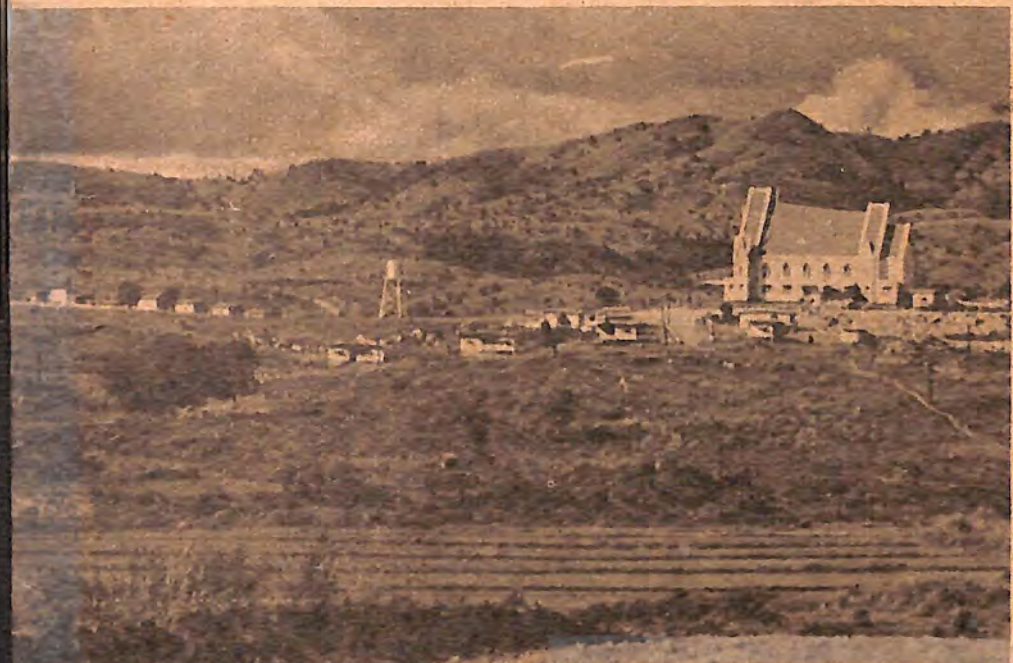
ALLENGE

by JOSE F. RODRIGUEZ
Staff Member

its forces in an all-out drive to help the rural folk improve their living standards. The first big step to be taken by the Philippine Catholic Hierarchy in this direction is the holding of a National Congress for Rural Development from February 5 to 11.

The forthcoming Congress intends to accomplish the following objectives: 1) create a greater general interest in the country on the problem of the land and of the seas, and of the people relying on them for their living; 2) study

more closely and with greater care the situation of rural workers — to find out concrete lines of action the Church may take, based on a solid understanding of the existing structures of society; 3) formulate a plan of action which the Church can implement without usurping or encroaching upon the legitimate functions of government and private agencies; and 4) indicate more clearly the areas of cooperation with other groups also aiming for social and economic development.



AND THE HOMELESS

The National Congress for Rural Development in the Philippines will be sponsored by the Philippine Catholic Hierarchy. An executive committee and a secretariat within the executive committee are in charge of organizing the Congress. His Eminence, Rufino J. Cardinal Santos, is overall chairman of the executive committee, while Bishop Lino R. Gonzaga and ex-Ambassador Oscar Ledesma are first vice-chairman and second vice-chairman respectively. The other members of the committee are: Bishop Mariano G. Gaviola, Don Vicente Araneta, Msgr. Justino C. Ortiz, Rev. Francisco Senden, CICM, Rev. William Masterson, S.J., Rev. Cornelius Breed, MHM, Atty. Jeremias Montemayor, Atty. Ramon Jimenez, Mr. Alfonso J. Aguirre, Atty. Marcos Herras, and Francisco Tantoco.

Around 400 local farmers and fishermen as well as delegates from several Asian countries have been invited to attend the Congress, which will hold sessions in Pangasinan; Los Baños, Laguna; and Cagayan de Oro City. Three Italian prelates — Msgrs. Luigi G. Ligretti, Pietro Pavan, and Giovanni D'Ascenzi — will represent Pope Paul VI at the Congress, which will have for its theme, "Man and the Land in the Philippines in the Light of Vatican II."

Many will wonder what is meant by "in the Light of Vatican II."

It simply means that the Congress was inspired by the wonderful synthesis presented in the decrees of the Second Vatican Council which, among many other things, concerned itself with the launching of ideas, firmly rooted in a deep faith in Christ, and which could lead to a more dedicated and active participation of Christians in the formulation and application of solutions to the many problems that beset the rural and agricultural population of the world.

It was His Holiness, Pope Paul VI, who specifically suggested that such a Congress be held in the Philippines so this nation may more conscientiously serve Christ in the midst of non-Christian and predominantly rural Asia.

The statistical predominance of Christians in this country makes it an ideal springboard for the launching of ideas designed to improve the lot of the rural workers. Eighty-three per cent of the entire Philippine population are baptized Roman Catholics — demonstrating clearly that the problems of the agricultural sector are predominantly problems of Catholics.

It's high time the Catholic Church in the Philippines shed off its feeling of superiority and smugness and takes up the challenge of doing something about the living conditions of all Filipinos, particularly those existing in the rural areas. The course of action to be undertaken in this direction should shift from individualized endeavors to group or collective effort. The problems are so great that the cooperation of all, priests as well as laymen, is needed.

All efforts of Philippine Catholics in the forthcoming rural Congress should, therefore, be geared toward the clearing up of the syncretic materials to be found in the minds of most people such that religion itself becomes a motive force behind man's day-to-day efforts at social and economic uplift.—#

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Jan. 25, 1967



by MANUEL L. QUEZON, Jr.

The meaning of equality

FOR some reason or other, since the French Revolution of 1789 set up as the battlecry of democracy the three words "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," it is mainly the second word that has received attention. Those who live in a democratic country take it for granted that they already enjoy liberty; fraternity is not even thought of, although, as a prominent philosopher has pointed out, it is the spirit of democracy. There remains equality, desired, pursued, yet never attained because never understood.

This being January, and therefore the anniversary of the first appearance in 1835 of the first part of Alexis de Tocqueville's work on "Democracy In America," allow me to start this discussion of equality with two quotations from him, indicating the effects of a wrong idea of equality.

The first one is: "One should not disguise the fact that democratic institutions develop to a very high degree the sentiment of envy in the human heart. It is not at all because they offer everyone the means of becoming equal to the rest, but because those means unceasingly fail those who use them. Democratic institutions awaken and flatter the passion for equality without ever being able to satisfy it completely. That complete equality slips from the hands of the people at the moment when they think to grasp it, and flies, in the words of Pascal, with an eternal flight; the people warm to the pursuit of that good all the more precious in that it is so near due to being known, yet so far due to never being tasted . . . Whatever surpasses the people for whatever reason at once seems an obstacle to their desires, and there is no form of superiority however legitimate whose sight does not tire their eyes."

Our second quotation is equally de-

pressing: "Poverty as well as misfortune are the two best guarantees of equality known to men."

Democracy being as it is so obsessed with the notion of equality, the envious quality of democracy has not changed in our day, at least certainly not in our country. Witness the reference to the process of democratization as a process of leveling, i.e., bringing down to a common level; witness further the frequent reference to higher income taxes as a system of "soaking the rich."

Democracy being *de facto* so obsessed with the notion of equality, and the notion being, again *de facto*, so destructive of individual advancement since absolute equality is attainable only on the lowest, most unhappy level, it will do us good to think of equality and what we should mean and intend by it, lest our efforts be directed only to an equality of poverty, misery, ignorance, and vulgarity.

The word "equality" has, unless I am mistaken, a mathematical origin. Ultimately, of course, it means identity, sameness. When we say that one quantity equals another, we mean that one quantity is the same as another or is identical to another. But while we can speak of one *quantity* being the same as another, we cannot speak of one *thing* being the same as another, least of all of one *person* being the same as another.

One can speak of one abstraction being the same as another, not of one concrete reality as being the same as another. Thus, we can speak of one liter of gasoline being the same as another: the notion, and the theoretical quantity of one liter is the same as another liter; in the world of reality, any physicist will admit that any given liter of gasoline is a little bit more or a little bit less than another one, be the difference

infinitesimal.

This equality, then, exists in the mind. Once it is found in the world outside the mind, it is no longer perfect equality, sameness, identity. This is in the case of inanimate objects which are so very much under our control, malleable, measurable, changeable at our will. What happens when we come to the world of human beings, since that is the world we are dealing with when we speak of equality in a democracy?

Human beings are such complex creatures — that is what makes them so interesting — that we get into serious trouble when we begin to speak of equality, because all too often in the back of our minds what we really have is the mathematical notion of equality.

This confusion is not helped one bit by the contemporary worship of science, which is in the last analysis the application of mathematics to the external world. Worse, what we worship is not so much science as its misrepresentation as given out by the popularizers of science, for science has long since realized that the external world admits of no exactitudes, a fact that Plato realized two millennia and a half ago.

Even worse, when we seek to apply mathematical equality to human beings, we forget that the world of mathematics admits of proportional equality, what is sometimes called geometrical equality as opposed to arithmetical equality, for at least proportional or geometrical equality can be applied to human beings, whereas arithmetical equality cannot.


One can only be equal to one, two to two, and three to three, whereas every equilateral triangle is equal to every other equilateral triangle, regardless of size, and five is to 10 as six is to 12, although five is less than six and 10 is less than 12.

Equality then is a very confusing word when we want to apply it to human beings. That is because, as we remarked, human beings are such complex creatures. Perhaps it would help clear up the confusion if we were to remember that we may be using the word in the sense of "same," meaning arithmetical equality, when we really should be using it in the sense of "alike." It will above all help avoid confusion if we remember what we are dealing with.

When we speak of human equality, we can be referring to any number of things. In the first place, we should mean that people are equal by reason of their human nature. That is, they are equal in that they are equally human beings. This is one case in which one can hardly speak of more or less. Either one is a human being or one is not. Either one belongs to that race of creatures which we call men or one does not. What constitutes a human being is present in each human being, in concrete form. The basic dignity found in a human being is found in every human being, in a particular, concrete form. Thus every person, whether he or she lays claim to it or not, enjoys the rights of a human being.

However, as we pointed out, human nature is found in human beings in concrete form, not in universal form. Here the trouble and confusion begin. Human beings exist, not as simple human beings, but as Juan, Pedro, Jose, Maria, Ana, etc. In other words, human nature does not walk around on the streets, it is Juan and Maria who, possessing human nature, go around on the streets. And Juan and Maria, being creatures of the world, differ from human beings, in all things except their humanity. Here equality ends.

At any stage of development, human



Neither life nor nature endows us equally, and at any stage of development, human beings differ from each other



Economic and social backgrounds play a tremendous role

ing added to or replaced by other physical characteristics such as voice, etc., which differ within scientifically measurable limits, and which stamp each man and woman as distinguishable from the rest.

Nature itself makes one human being different from another. There has been talk recently about the possible future ability of scientists to control heredity. Although there does not seem to have been talk as yet of scientists being able to make one human being exactly like another, and I doubt if scientists would be interested in doing such a thing, I suppose the theoretical possibility will exist, insofar as physical and psychological characteristics are concerned. Identical twins cause a feeling of curiosity and pleasure — I wonder if human beings deliberately alike in everything physical would not rather cause a chill?

We have pointed out that people differ from other people physically. They look different, and are. But they differ even more in their intelligence and their minds. The various tests worked out to measure intelligence and aptitudes are universally admitted to give only approximations. This does not speak against the value of the tests. It only means that we are trying to use a standard of some sort to give us as accurate an idea as possible of areas where measurements of an exact kind are simply out of the question.

I do not know whether there is any claim made that human beings are born equally intelligent potentially and develop differently due to differing environments and experiences. If such a claim has been made, I do not know how it would be proved. In any case, by the time any exercise of intelligence is possible, we already find an infinite gradation of levels of intelligence. And as a

person's intelligence is affected by environment and experience differently, so his next experience may elicit a different kind of response from his next experience or from the next change in his environment. What I am trying to point out is that what is inside of us, our intelligence, our physical abilities, our looks, etc., differ all the way through life. No equality there. Neither nature nor life endows us equally.

Even more important, life does not endow us equally. The ancient philosophers used to say that the human mind is like a clean tablet on which nothing has been written, referring this statement to the moment of birth. Just how literally true this is may very well be debated, but if we take the word mind to mean the entire intellectual and psychological make-up of man, modern psychology is pretty well agreed.

According to the latter, the writing on the clean tablet starts from the very beginning, and the ones who do most of the writing, at any rate the most important writing, are the parents. Parents, being human beings themselves, differ widely, and the result is that the influences wielded on children are infinite in their variety, with also infinite results. The influence of the members of the family, apart from the parents themselves, is also tremendous. The general social, economic, and educational backgrounds play their tremendous role, and these also vary unceasingly. Those who undergo all these multifarious influences cannot help but be unequal.

Last but not least, we shall mention the inequality of achievement of individuals. We can use the word achievement in the sense of something great that has been done, and in this sense some people have no achievements. Not everyone has made a name for himself

in some particular field. But in the wider sense of doing things, getting things done, even on an externally small and in significant scale, people do have achievements and those achievements differ very widely. One is an academic success, a social failure, and possibly an economic nonentity. Another may be an academic failure, a social success, and an economic mediocrity. Again, all along the line, inequality.

Under such conditions of human life, the kind of equality that is all too often unconsciously desired, a leveling of all, an artificial keeping of all at the same level, would be the rankest injustice possible. It is by the nature of things impossible to bring all up to the same high level. Thus the only way to achieve equality is on the level of the least common denominator. The refusal to admit superiority in some and inferiority in others would very likely be diminished if we were to use another terminology and merely say that some are more able than others, some have had better sense than others in using the possibilities presented to them.

We would be more sensible about the whole matter if we would realize that there is neither credit nor blame attached to what we start with, that is, that we are neither to take credit nor to be blamed for what we start with, whether it be much or little. What we do with ourselves and what we help others to accomplish it are what really count. In the concrete, what should this mean?

We pointed out at the very beginning that we all have basic human rights, since we all have human nature. This means unavoidably that we all have the right to human existence. No one has the right to deny anyone a truly human life. More than that, we have to provide for those who are unable to provide for themselves. Whatever the situation, a human being should never be in a condition of living like a brute animal. So much for all human beings, as a matter of strict necessity due to their human nature.

But beyond that, the equality for which we should all struggle is equality of opportunity and equality before the law. This is the only kind of equality which is a truly human equality. It is the kind of equality which, far from pulling down, pushes people upward toward the truly human goal of fulfillment.

Equal opportunity and equal protection from the laws can alone make it possible for human beings to be truly equal in the only way in which they can be, which is in the sense that they will be able to develop their potentialities and develop their personalities to the fullest extent possible, so that they can truly say that human nature as found in those particular human beings has been developed to its maximum.

As long as society does not make this possible, or at the very least strive in this direction with all its might, something is seriously amiss.

The envy which de Tocqueville pointed out as a danger and a menace to the democratic society, the degrading desire to drag people down instead of climbing upward, will be a tremendous temptation for the less fortunate, even though not quite unfortunate, as long as people can honestly say that they are held back by factors not of their own doing.—#



Educational achievements of men differ very widely.

beings differ from each other. From the moment when a human ovum is fertilized and thus starts its career as a human being, one individual differs from every other. And all through its development it differs from other humans until it dies. How does a man differ from other men all through life?

First of all, men are endowed with differing physical characteristics. Before the age of the exact sciences, people already were aware that no two human beings are exactly alike physically, although they may have thought that identical twins were an exception. Various scientific discoveries have shown that people really do differ physically. Fingerprints, once the only accepted form of identification because they were different in every individual, are now be-

● HOW will the war end? Will Hanoi and the Viet Cong surrender eventually to the Americans? Will American forces invade North Vietnam, as French forces did 20 years ago?

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, for anyone to foretell how the Vietnam War will end. The Americans tell the world that they are winning the war, but from my observations in North Vietnam, the Vietnamese are certain that they are actually winning the war. And they cited several factors.

1) During the nine-year war with the French, the Vietnamese fought on entirely different grounds. To begin with, the French had already established foothold on the land. They had their own puppets inside North Vietnam. Having been in control of Vietnam for 80 years, they exercised power over the feudal nobility, the Cao Dai sect. The Americans, in contrast, have never been inside North Vietnam and therefore have never developed puppets whom they can now depend on.

2) When the Vietminh were fighting the French, the former were cut off entirely from communist countries. From



President Ho Chi Minh of the DRV with the Vice-Chairman of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front meeting in Hanoi with Vietnamese soldiers during Independence celebration, Sept. 2, 1965.

CONCLUDING ARTICLE

Inside North Vietnam

by ANTONIO S. ARANETA, Jr.

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FREEDOM BEGINS AT HOME

Author believes that United States must withdraw its troops from S. Vietnam

1945 to 1950 China was in the grip of a civil war. It was only from 1950 onwards that the rear of the Vietminh forces was secured, the communists having by then gained control over the Chinese mainland. But even then supplies to Vietnam were limited, because the Chinese themselves had inadequate supplies, having just been engaged in the Korean War. Now, supplies to Vietnam suffer no major obstruction. Even if railroad lines are cut off, supplies can still be slipped in by other means.

3) The Vietnamese communists have been fighting continuously for 25 years since Japan invaded Indo-China in 1941. While there was an interval of 'peace' in North Vietnam from 1954 to 1964, in South Vietnam the struggle never stopped, notwithstanding the Geneva Agreement. "We are used to war. We work and do not think about the war. I write my articles peacefully even while missiles are being shot over Hanoi. We have been living with war for 25 years," said one journalist.

4) But whereas the Vietnamese were engaged in war in a 'free enterprise' society from 1941 to 1954, the war which they have been carrying on since is under an entirely different setup. They are now a socialist society. This has several advantages. In "free enterprise" South Vietnam, there is runaway inflation as the natural effect of war on a capitalistic society; in North Vietnam, a socialist society, there is no such inflation. Prices can be controlled. In fact,

prices have been lowered to help the people. People do not start hoarding goods in panic nor lose faith in the currency, as we did in the Philippines during the last war.

5) In North Vietnam every married soldier or the soldier who has to support a family is assured that if he dies or is injured, his dependents can continue to live decently, because the state continually provides for everyone. They are assured of welfare benefits, unlike in a capitalist society where the dependents must fend for themselves. Take the case of the Philippines. Have our veterans or war widows and orphans been adequately helped by the government?

6) But perhaps the most important reason for their determined struggle is one explained by Nguyen Minh Vy, the director general of the General Information Board in Hanoi. "It is regrettable that you are not a peasant," he remarked in a tone which I thought at first sounded a bit sarcastic. "You will never understand how we peasants suffered under the old colonial rule. You will never understand why Vietnamese, majority of whom are of peasant stock, will fight indefinitely to preserve what we have now gained. Our enemies can destroy all they want but we are determined never again to let ourselves be placed under the yoke of a foreign master."

"Consider this situation: The majority of us Vietnamese — over 90 per cent — never owned land. When the French

were expelled, the land was given not to a few wealthy Vietnamese but to the peasants because a Communist economy was immediately installed unlike in other colonies which gained independence, such as India and Pakistan, where the fruits of independence went to the wealthy classes. But in North Vietnam all of us have enjoyed the benefits of owning our own land. Never before have our people enjoyed this unique blessing. Now, the Americans who are imperialists like the French want to take away all these — the land, our independence. Do you know what effect this has on a peasant?"

Ngo Dien, the chief of the Press and Information Department of the Foreign Ministry who arranged my interview with Premier Pham Van Dong and President Ho Chi Minh, remarked: "The US is condemned by the whole world, and no self-respecting nation wants to act as a mediator for the US. The US must therefore call on its puppets, like Marcos, to act as mediators. But the US made a wrong choice in selecting Marcos as a mediator. The Manila Summit, in which Marcos played the main puppet role, clearly shows that the Americans want to escalate the war. It is an escalation in deception. They want to escalate the war because they are desperately losing in Vietnam. It has been two years since they began their daily bombings, but the Americans have not been able to stop us. We now know we can take them."

"The war can easily be stopped by them. All the Americans need do is to follow strictly the Geneva Agreements. That means that there must be no foreign troops in Vietnam. That is one of the provisions of the Geneva Agreement. Our country does not have any military alliance with the Communist countries, though we have relations with about 30 countries. In fact we are the only Communist country in Asia that has not forged a military alliance with other Communist countries. We have refrained from doing so because we respect the Geneva Agreement. But the Americans have violated it. In May 1961, Ngo Dinh Diem entered into a military alliance with the US; Vice-President Johnson signed the agreement with him in Saigon."

"If the Americans want to negotiate, they should do so with the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam because they represent that portion of Vietnam. And the people of South Vietnam, like those of North Vietnam, will never accept the division of our country. Once South Vietnam gains independence from the Americans, the NLF will negotiate with us for the eventual reunification."

"More troops in S. Vietnam will not change the situation a bit. The Americans have reached a saturation point with respect to their troops. They have already lost over 60,000 men."

And if they invade North Vietnam, they

(Turn to page 24)



KUWENTONG KUTSERO

by NARCISO PIMENTEL, JR.

January 4, 1967

The New Year's resolutions of FM's cabinet members

● FOR A WHILE there was panic in Malacañang. At the rate the resignations came pouring in, there would be no one left to man the government's battle stations, except the Big Chief himself. It had all started when the President, in one of those moments of truth (which incidentally are becoming increasingly frequent) confessed in the presence of his Cabinet and the heads of government corporations that he was not quite satisfied with the way things were going and that he wanted to reorganize the government for greater and more economic efficiency.

Touched to the quick, RCA General Manager Osmundo Mondoñedo tendered his resignation for the second time this year and so did the General Manager of the Namarco, Jovenal Almendras. That started the ball of resignations rolling. Soon it spread to the Cabinet when the Vice-President and concurrent Secretary of Agriculture Fernando Lopez offered to resign his post as Agriculture Secretary. At this point panic struck. What if this snowball of resignations grew to an avalanche?

No, no, no, the President hastened to explain, it was never his intention at this stage to revamp his Cabinet. The reorganization he was talking about the other day referred only to government corporations, and even then, not to all of them. So, as it turned out, the President's target consisted of only a few cogs in the government machinery which needed a little oiling perhaps or some repair, or maybe complete replacement. To get to the bottom of this whole binge I sent my favorite troubleshooter to every government office and he turned in this report:

There is nothing in the present set-up that a good New Year's resolution wouldn't mend. I have gone through every nook and cranny of every government office with a psychological geiger counter, and that's the conclusion I have come to. Whatever knocks or rattles one hears are quite natural and to be expected since administrations, like automobiles, depreciate quite rapidly and one year is not as short as one may ordinarily think. Some rust is

bound to develop somewhere; some dust is bound to accumulate somewhere, and all that is needed is a New Year's resolution to sweep away the dust and rub away the rust to get this government going great again. So, I've gone around the different government offices dropping a hint here and there for an appropriate New Year's resolution, and I must say that I've found the officials I've talked to quite receptive



and cooperative. Here are their New Year's resolutions:

VICE-PRESIDENT LOPEZ: I resolve when the President leaves the country again on one of his state visits, not to perform his job so well that even the GRAPHIC notices it, because it makes the President think that the GRAPHIC is subversive.

SECRETARY OF COMMERCE: I resolve not to be out of the country when the question of allowances comes up again for discussion and condemnation, so that

I may be in a position to defend myself personally against any accusation, denunciation, or even insinuation.

SECRETARY OF PUBLIC WORKS: I resolve not to keep on harping on how I finished the Guadalupe bridge before the Christmas deadline fixed by me . . . until I am nominated to the Senate slate of the Nacionalista party, in which event I resolve to keep on harping throughout my election campaign on how I finished the Guadalupe bridge before my own Christmas deadline.

SECRETARY OF FINANCE: I resolve to keep an ever watchful eye on my Undersecretary Ponce Enrile who has resolved to do his job as Commissioner of Customs so well that he will be made also concurrently Undersecretary of Justice when Undersecretary of Justice Teehankee is made Secretary of Justice if and when Secretary of Justice Yulo is made Ambassador to the Vatican.

SECRETARY OF JUSTICE: I resolve not to go running to President Marcos with every problem I have lest he develop a phobia against seeing me in his office and he start telling everybody around him: "My gosh, what's the matter with him? Why does he have to consult with me on every problem?" as if any Cabinet Secretary can make any decision without first consulting him.

RCA GENERAL MANAGER: I resolve not to mind criticism from the press and not to engage in polemics with newspaper columnists over my actuations or those of my office, in order to conserve my health and have time and energy left to attend to my duties.

NAMARCO GENERAL MANAGER: I resolve not to collect the extraordinary allowances approved by my Board of Directors, in order not to incur the ire of the President.

Believe it or not, President Marcos whispered into my ear that he himself has a private New Year's resolution to read Kuwentong Kutsero with a sense of humor and take it with a grain of salt.—#



EDUCATION AND

Past societies have lived and died. Can ours

HISTORY bears witness and, where history has forgotten, archaeology still reminds us, that civilizations, the periodic fruits of the human spirit, have appeared, flourished, and then vanished like a dream in the night. With one or two possible exceptions, the end of a civilization has not involved the end of the people who created it or lived in its midst. The contemporary Cambodian is the same man whose ancestors conceived and built the Khmer cities of olden time, of which Angkor is only the best known example. Today's Egyptian fallah is the direct descendant of the ancient Egyptians who created one of the world's earliest and most enduring civilizations, whose monuments have withstood the ages. The Indians of Mexico, Central America, Peru, Bolivia, and Colombia are not newly imported races which, centuries ago, built the Maltec, Maya, Aztec, Inca, and other civilizations. The civilizations survive only in books, museums, decaying monuments, and the imagination of man — the people live in the same world as ourselves. It is therefore possible for a civilization to disappear without its people ceasing to exist. Or at least, so it was in the past. Whether such is still the case today is a matter of opinion. Let me explain.

The civilizations we mentioned were basically self-contained; they were limited to a fairly well-defined area, the people affected by them were severely limited, when compared with the rest of the human population, and although there has always been a certain amount of mutual influence between civilizations, each was in a relative sense a world in itself. It is thus not surprising that one could disappear without the others being dragged down with it. Today we have developed a kind of world civilization. In the past, when Western historians wrote of "Civilization," they meant Western civilization,

though the rest did not count. They could start the history of civilization with that of Greece, with perhaps a brief reference to Egypt and possibly the other Middle Eastern countries, as a kind of unavoidable nuisance. Today, the world has become one because of the truly interlocking relations of the countries of the world. Civilization has therefore become the common property of all mankind. Just what our world civilization means is not easy to define. Although in a very true sense, Western civilization has become the prevalent type of civilization, it is not so in an exclusive sense. The surviving non-Western civilizations are gaining ever

Imparting, Sustaining And Furthering Civilization

greater cognizance in the West, at the same time that Western civilization is being absorbed to an ever greater extent by its non-Western counterparts. There is a progressive mutual recognition and appreciation which the mutual distrust arising from international politics can do nothing to arrest. Although we cannot yet speak of a fully integrated world civilization — and in the sense of an entirely uniform and homogeneous world I rather hope it never happens: it would be so tedious — we do have it in embryonic form. The achievements of the various civilizations are available to the entire world and are now the possession of the whole world. Something approaching the destruction of the human race would today seem necessary for civilization, for *our* civilization, to disappear, since in a way it is spread wherever the human race exists. As long as educated men and women in sufficient numbers exist in any part of the world, civilization will go on, im-

mune from external destruction. Were it to be wiped out in the greater part of the world, those who had garnered its fruits and survived would retain it and be able to extend it anew. This is one viewpoint, held, it would seem, by Arnold Toynbee and others. There is the opposite viewpoint: that there is as yet no world civilization even in an incipient stage; that the various civilizations are still self-contained units and could separately be wiped out, so that, at least in theory, one by one they could disappear, leaving scarcely a ripple on the surface of history. If we accept the first theory, which seems the more plausible of the two, and if we accept the possibility of a world conflagration destructive of enormous segments of the human race — and, sad to say, this is no remote possibility — then a new moral obligation has arisen for each country, a kind of obligation which did not exist quite in its present form: the obligation of so enriching its people with civilization, making them partakers of civilization to such an extent that they would be able to spread it anew over the face of the earth should it be destroyed elsewhere. This, which I call a new moral obligation, does not mean that there was no obligation in the past for each country to turn out civilized men and women, as highly civilized as possible, regardless of what went on in other countries — that obligation has always existed does mean that the old obligation has been added to immeasurably.

The means of imparting, sustaining, and furthering civilization can be reduced to one word: education — education in all its forms and in all its aspects. I do not refer to schools only — everything that reaches man, has contact with him, can educate him or push him backwards, make him or keep him civilized, or make or keep him a barbarian or a savage — home and exter-

nal environment, mass media, the million and one things with which man comes into daily contact. It is a hardy plant indeed that I can resist external forces strongly hostile to its life and growth; it is a weak plant indeed that will not thrive when everything favors its growth.

I said that education is not synonymous with schools. Schools are, however, a primary factor in education. We cannot discuss in one article all the factors which enter into the process of education — I would like to discuss the role of schools. What is the role of schools in the educational process, and how are our schools fulfilling their role? We pointed out that education must produce civilized men and women. Are our schools turning out civilized men and women, at least to the degree that a school should?

The role of schools in the educational process is a tremendously important one. This is of course a redundant statement in the view of those who identify education and going to school, those who think that education is entirely a matter of passing on facts, facts, and more facts, in an organized school — what is at times called a formal education. But even for those of us who believe that schooling is *one part, not the whole*, of education, it should be crystal-clear that schooling is of the greatest importance. Schooling and working are the two activities, relatively continuous, in which a man spends the greater part of his waking hours. Work may go on for a longer period of a man's life, but under reasonable economic conditions, work does not start until after schooling, it is not specifically aimed at the education of the person, and, again under reasonable economic conditions, work does not enter into a man's life at its most formative period, where studies do. In terms of waking hours, therefore, it is inevitable that those who



● SOME months ago I had occasion to participate in a symposium on the theme "Mandate for Greatness." In the course of the general attempt to pin-point the meaning of greatness, one of our lady writers, in my opinion second to none, asked when this nation had been great. She herself expressed the view that the Filipino people were truly great at the time of the Philippine Revolution and the qualities which made them great were courage, self-sacrifice, and patriotism. In my opinion she made a telling point.

She made me realize clearly, and I hope she also made the others present realize, that the greatness of a people does not consist in having a full belly and full pockets but a full mind and a full heart. It is the intellectual and moral qualities of a people, not the size of their dollar reserves, that entitles them to be called great. This is a very important truth, so important that it can never be sufficiently stressed. It can be affirmed without hesitation that in the minds of the overwhelming majority of Filipinos today, all this talk about greatness conjures visions of the United States of America as the model, the ideal to be pursued.

Unfortunately, those visions exclude

on. Can we grasp the same truth? Can we bring ourselves to the realization of the true scale of values, of the spiritual over the economic, of the moral over the pragmatic, of that of which we can be proud over that of which we can boast, intrinsic worth over exhibitionism for public, especially foreign, consumption? On how we answer in practice depends whether we shall rise to true greatness, or be content to develop into a barnyard of well-fed animals, the majority clean, fat sheep.

In my opinion, two factors are working powerfully against our greatness as a nation, one negative, the other positive. The negative factor is the thoughtless, injudicious jettisoning of tradition, the other the attempt at wholesale adoption of the unsavory aspects of American life. It is only by stopping these two ever-accelerating movements and replacing them with a more intelligent process can we become anything worth becoming. Let us take a closer look at what we have to stop. And first the disintegration of tradition.

Tradition And Change

To uphold tradition may seem inconsistent in one who has so often advocated change as I have. But I have never advocated the indiscriminate elimination of tradition. I have never suggested wiping the blackboard clean and starting with a clean slate. It is something which in the very nature of things cannot be done and those who have attempted it, despite whatever good intentions they may have had, have usually succeeded in eliminating much good and invariably left the worst.

The men who made the French Revolution with its motto of liberty, equality, fraternity, the men who in their pathetic belief in the omnipotence of Reason to set all things right, thought they could start a whole new world, so entirely new that even the names of the months of the year were changed — what did they accomplish? Many good things, no doubt, and much of this good has survived. But they also set up the Committee of Public Safety, a kind of Gestapo which led to the Reign of Terror in which innocent men and women were put to death on mere suspicion — the very antithesis of liberty. It did not take long for Napoleon to appear on the scene and those who hoped to eliminate monarchy and privilege by removing the king were soon applauding the coronation of an Emperor and his creation of a new aristocracy, the Bonapartist. And fraternity, the brotherhood of all men? France was soon overrunning Europe and establishing a political and military hegemony over Europe. However, the genuine tradition of France — its culture, its refinement, its tolerance, its sense of mission not to enslave but to elevate and to communicate — what we might call the *soul* of France — remained and incorporated and assimilated what was of genuine value in the Revolution, as well as some less fortunate aspects of the Revolution,

for no human process is perfect.

To obliterate tradition, then, is impossible and to attempt it only brings needless suffering. Even if it were possible it could only retard, not accelerate, the process of achieving greatness. Tradition is a kind of collective memory and personality of a people, guiding their behavior and activity. To destroy tradition wholesale, if that were possible, would be the equivalent of a total loss of memory — amnesia. No one issues from an attack of amnesia a great man. Ordinarily there can be no question of his rising to greatness until he has built up a whole new body of knowledge, experiences, and accomplishments, a new identity from which to start his drive toward greatness.

To destroy Philippine tradition would be to destroy the identity of the Filipino people. It would be a kind of spiritual and moral genocide. To destroy in a people the knowledge of what it has been and is, the heights to which it has risen and the depths to which it can sink, how it has thought and felt in the past and how it thinks and feels now — and why — its goals and the efforts toward those goals, its successes and its failures, is to destroy all possibility of introspection and self-evaluation, and by that very fact to rule out any prospect of improvement. We must be especially on our guard in this matter *as a people* because we have not been a people very long.

It is all very well to consider Lapu-Lapu a national hero for being the first to resist foreign invasion, but I seriously doubt if he looked upon himself as the defender of the nation, since there was no Filipino nation as yet. Filipino nationality, our consciousness of ourselves as a single people, with a unity transcending regional — in reality tribal — divisions, is a product of, at most, the last 200 years — but a day in the life of a nation. Indeed, with regionalism still rampant, one may well wonder if the process of national unification is quite complete.

Filipino Traits

Young though we may be as a people and consequently young though our traditions may be insofar as they are *national*, we do have certain traits which have been common to the various tribes throughout the archipelago since it was settled centuries ago. These traits constituted separate parallel traditions which have now become the basis and the substance of the common national tradition which exists today. Among these traits are good manners, sensitiveness with its corollary of fear of offending others, a warm and generous hospitality, courage, bravery in combat and other dangers, a remarkable capacity to endure hardship, an easy wit, intelligence and quickness to learn, a proper respect for learning, individual helpfulness as distinguished from efficient group action (a product of more highly organized societies), a true appreciation of friendship, a gen-



the growing religious, intellectual, moral, and artistic importance of the United States; they include only the material aspect of the American picture — economic prosperity and technological proficiency.

Not By Bread Alone

Economic prosperity presents itself to us as greatness. It is the same temptation offered to Christ in the desert: "If Thou be the Son of God, command these stones to turn into loaves of bread." And there is still only one answer to that particular temptation: "Not by bread alone does man live, but by every word that comes from the mouth of the living God." Christ in His great hunger after His prolonged fast showed His Divinity more clearly by His grasp of the hierarchy of values than by performing a miracle there and then — there would be times and places for miracles later

THREAT TO

by MANUEL L. QUEZON, Jr.

eral attachment to intangible values rather than to the purely materialistic, an eye for beauty rather than voluptuousness and the ideal of romantic love rather than mere sex, a strong feeling of pity and sympathy for the underdog and a strong sense of what is equitable more than, and as going beyond, mere justice — the list is almost interminable.

It is impossible to define the Filipino spirit — what Germans call "Geist" — but if I were to make the attempt, I would say it is characterized by the spiritual and moral rather than the material, the intangible rather than the measurable, the fine rather than the rude, the kind rather than the harsh, the soft rather than the hard. As a people, we love life rather than fight it and are contented by what we have attained rather than driven relentlessly by what we hope to attain. Surely fine traits, open to abuse and liberally mixed with abuse as all good things are, yet basically sound, are the core of our tradition, our "way of life." It is easy enough to talk of overthrowing tradition or changing it, but when we do, we had better be quite sure of what we are doing. The ingredients that have gone into making the Filipino character are gold, mixed with dross it is true, but we must take care that, in discarding the dross we do not throw out the gold along with it. Our ways of doing things are both the outcome and the cause of our national character — they reinforce each other. In the process of reform toward progress, we had better not sell past generations of Filipinos short.

And that is exactly what we are in the process of doing by adopting the seamier American goals and ways wholesale. The "wise guy" is replacing the wit, the toughie the brave man, and the boor the gentleman. One of the clearest symptoms of our attempt to turn into synthetic Americans is the Filipino cowboy movie. "Bad men" in the American Western tradition have never ridden around this country on horseback, fighting law-abiding citizens also riding around on horseback. Life in the saddle has never been an aspect of Filipino life. Yet such movies are not only made, they apparently receive a warm reception.

Another symptom worth noting is the strong trend toward business as apart from the professions. Making due allowance for economic necessities and the high cost of living, we cannot avoid the

impression that there is a marked drift in the direction of commercialism. There cannot but result, and there already exists, a certain disregard, and even contempt, for the professions and the arts, for being less lucrative. I can recall not very long ago a certain special respect accorded to doctors, to which their vocation fully entitled them. This still survives among the poorer classes but is disappearing among the wealthier classes who, after all, set the pattern which ultimately determines the "tone" of Philippine society. There is also undoubtedly a tendency for people to look upon medicine as a business — a way to make large amounts of money — rather than a vocation of service to human life. Such a



public attitude toward the medical profession debases the profession in the eyes of the people and by a subtle process can debase those who practice the profession themselves.

The attitude toward art is also undergoing an unfortunate process. A few began to show the public what treasures of art are to be found in old Filipino pieces — *santos*, antique furniture, etc. In the twinkling of an eye, the possession of these antiques turned into a "status symbol" (an American term), so that even those who did not really care the least bit about such things felt obliged to possess them. The obsession with status symbols — "keeping up with the Joneses" — has taken the country by storm, and it is a distinctively American trait. What we see in Hollywood movies, their crudeness, their cheapness, their vulgarity, the stress on the abnormal over the normal and the grotesque over the proper — these are setting the pattern for our minds and hearts. A certain "hardness" of the individual is turning into an ideal to be pursued. It need hardly be pointed out that a "soft" individual, that is, a morally weak individual, is not any more desirable, but gentleness and courtesy are not to be confused with softness, nor is sentimentality — our great men and women of the past, who embodied our ideals and traditions

in their highest form, were anything but "hard." Yet they were the people who led the Philippine Revolution and the subsequent political struggle for emancipation from American rule.

Gentleness and bravery, sentimentality and a grasp of realities are by no means incompatible. Taken together, their combination with either hardness or softness is impossible, whereas hardness and softness all too often go together in the same individual — one is soft toward oneself and hard on others.

Good Family Idea

The shift toward a highly commercial, materialistic spirit is so universal that many fail to see it. I shall cite two instances from my own experience which illustrate the general trend. There was a lady who objected strenuously to her son's entering a seminary, not because she did not want to lose him, not because she was anti-religious or anti-clerical, not because she thought he could render better service in some other line, or because she wanted him to marry and raise a family. No. She had the bad manners — another new trend — to tell me, a seminarian at the time, that her son was stupid to enter the seminary because he had a job with a good salary waiting for him. Another lady was annoyed with her son because he decided to study history instead of business.

The shift is also noticeable in connection with the term "good family." In the past, the term good family meant a family whose members were noted for their good behavior, education, and prominence in the community because of those qualities. A certain degree of financial prosperity was naturally involved since education would have been almost impossible without it, but definitely it was not the money that singled out the family. It was common to hear that such a family was not very rich, but a good family nevertheless; and a family of vulgar, ill-behaved individuals could never have been considered a good family, no matter how wealthy.

At present, the surest pass into the highest circles is a fat pocketbook, regardless of how it is acquired, and all the vulgarity and bad behavior will not close any doors. In other words, we are turning away from the concept of honoring people for their qualities and are now honoring them for their possessions. We are turning from the veneration of persons to the worship of wealth. This is exactly the attitude which virtually decorated financial robber barons in the United States and turns certain licentious movie stars, adorned with all the glamour which Hollywood money can give, into international idols, while the common prostitute, who may originally have been forced into the "profession" against her will and mistakenly thinks that there is no way out, is looked upon with derision and contempt, instead of being the object of pity and the kind of assistance which would help her reestablish herself as a decent member of society.

More and more, the only dividing line which society recognizes between the two is money and worldly success, which causes one to be accepted and praised and the other to be rejected and condemned. If that is not a perversion of values, I do not know what is, for one is every bit as much of a tramp as the other.

Special Relations

The bad manners, the vulgarity, the rank commercialism, the worship of wealth, the ruthlessness, the materialism and consequent loss of spiritual values, the loss of the capacity to enjoy simple innocent pleasures, the tendency to rate personal worth in terms of money — what a turning away from the true Philippine tradition! To what can we ascribe it but the eager acceptance of the worst aspect of what only one nation has been able to bring us, because only one nation has had the power and the influence to do so. Ours is a special relationship indeed! We are dumping our past, our true selves, onto the garbage heap and taking, not the best that America has to offer us — for there is much good there, and much also in common with our best traditions — but the worst, which destroys what we have of good and reinforces what we have of evil. We are not skimming the cream off the top of American life, to improve the



flavor of our coffee — we are tossing out our coffee and replacing it with the dregs of American "civilization," of which so many Americans have expressed their shame and disgust.

Canon Bernard Iddings Bell, an American, used the phrase "to rescue America from Americans", and counselled return to the older American values and attitudes which built America, as the only way out. We need to rescue the Philippines from the same threat, and the only means are the same, a return to whatever is sound in our tradition and its proper growth and development. None of this is incompatible with progress on all levels — quite the contrary. Otherwise, let us forget all this talk of greatness, let us at least be honest enough to confess that our goal is not a great people with great men and women but a stockyard of sheep, fat, healthy, contented, thoughtless — and worthless.—#

We are tossing out our coffee and replacing it with the dregs of American 'civilization'

TRADITION

STUDENTS' LITERARY CONTEST

Sponsored by Weekly GRAPHIC and RADO watch

COLLEGIATE WINNER

ANTONIO E. HERNANDEZ, Adamson University

A Jew in history

● PARDON me friend, for interrupting your afternoon coffee but there is something brewing in my mind that must simply come out. Do you see that man over there, some two tables away? The one leaning over the railing, staring down at the river. Yes, the one with the black umbrella. Well, you cannot see his face from here but there is something in his eyes, in the way he looks down at the river that suggests a deep weariness, a resignation, a desire to destroy himself, in fact.

Don't ask me why I knew this. I have seen thousands, yes, thousands of others like him in the middle of bridges, at the edges of cliffs, in windows of high buildings, and by closely observing them I have become sort of an expert on human morbidity. Now this particular man is not going to jump, at least not this afternoon. He stares at the river with sad, burning eyes, his mind heavy with the thought of suicide. But he has not accumulated enough courage yet. He is just turning the thought over in his mind, just as each of us had, at one time or another thought of reaching out for an object that is not ours, but never really serious about it. This man is dreaming of the cool waves swallowing him — the dark, comfortable oblivion slowly closing in to blot out the last persistent, nagging trace of the misery that so fills up his life.

But that is all he will do today: stare and dream, dream and stare. Yet tomorrow he will pass this river again, and the day after tomorrow, and the day after that. And one day, the choice will have become unbearable and he will just heave a casual sigh, and then step for-

ward to an empty solution. But by then, he will choose to be alone, not in this riverside cafe and not with his black umbrella.

I see you are amused, my friend, and I do not question your reasons for being so. Still, I am in the mood to amuse you further. Do you know that I myself have tried to commit suicide no less than 50 times these last two thousand years? Oh, look! Our morbid friend is walking away. He is young, yet look how painful his steps are. I have a mind to approach him a little while ago and whisper to his ears: If Thou be the Son of God, cast Thyself down into that murky depths. As a bad joke. But there is something like pity within me...

What, my friend? Oh, about my committing suicide. You know, you will not understand a word I will tell you unless I introduce myself to you, which is not an easy thing to do. My name is Samuel and I am that controversial Jew who insulted Jesus on His way to Calvary, and who was condemned to roam the earth forever. Please, please don't display the least sign that anything is so irregular. All these two thousand years I have been introducing myself to people and I am tired of explaining further my identity after the preliminary introductions. If you believe me, good, but if not, then please keep it to yourself and you will do both of us a great deal of favor.

Now, going back to our subject, I really did try committing suicide during my first five hundred years or so, but of course God would not permit it, although there were times when I succeeded in drowning myself or something like that whenever God was busy creating

some far-off universe. But sooner or later He would fish me out, shake me to dryness, and He would then breathe the life back to me and off I go, satisfied at least with the little rest I had.

And all those years, I have always believed that I was running away from my guilt. But then, I came to ask the question: why was God so harsh in punishing me for a few words I had uttered in an unguarded moment when He was so generous in curing the blindness of Longhine, who opened a wound at the side of His Son? Of course, I am not insisting that just because hurting Christ bodily deserved that much, then merely insulting Him deserves more. It is just that, in the light of that discovery, my guilt decreased in magnitude, in my mind at least. It was then that I began introducing myself to people without fear.

But strangely, I did not stop seeking death. It was also then that I discovered that I was trying to escape not my guilt, but life. I simply have too much of it. Oh, how often do I laugh at people who mourn the shortness of their lifetime.

You have a contemporary philosopher who proposes that the source of all of man's shortcomings is mortality, which, he says, induces a sense of urgency in the confused individual. Let man be immortal, he contends, and earth becomes a paradise. How naive! There is no more suitable punishment than immortality for one who has offended the Son of God.

No, don't misunderstand me. I have nothing whatsoever against life. It is just that it is not for us. Life was not

created for the ape, nor for man but for the super creatures of the future. We still don't have the right level of intellect to enjoy life; our shortcoming is not social but biological. Utopia will be reached not through revolution but through evolution. We are like children who are given a wonderful, enlightening book, but a book that was given too early for us to understand. So for the moment, crimes must be committed, wars must be fought, and poverty must be endured because we still have not understood the book.

Perhaps you are wondering what connection this matter has with me. This march of evolution, I mean. Just think of it. I will be and I must be around till Judgment Day, and that is a long, long way off. Meanwhile, generations will come and go, hundreds of them, in fact, and the whole face of the earth will change. And when the super creatures come, I will have become an obsolete creature, a living remnant of a prehistoric age, they will say. I will be locked up in a cage and they will stare at me endlessly. Unthinkable.

Yes, yes, I know. But don't pity me, please. Time is a persistently corrosive enemy and it has worn me out, but I am intact. Funny, isn't it? That is the point of the whole thing. I must be corroded but I must remain intact until the very end. Perhaps I am already beyond vanity, but still I am proud of the fact that I, not God alone, am also responsible for my being intact. Every human creature these last two thousand years had been my contemporary, you know, and I derive strength, strangely, from knowing their weaknesses. Yes, it sounds cruel and selfish. Right at this moment I derive power from the knowledge that I have access to an infinite number of possibilities compared to you. I have made it into a fantastic battle of attitudes because I know that is the only way I can live with myself.

Don't ask me, my friend. An unjustly severe punishment makes an effective lesson in justice. Now, if you don't mind I must be off. I suspect that your attentiveness is not sincere but merely a concession to one who, you think, is crazy. But anyway, try to recall the face of that man with the black umbrella. It might be within your power to save him. Goodbye and thanks for your time.—#

Poetry

The evening girl

by ROMEO P. VIRTUSIO

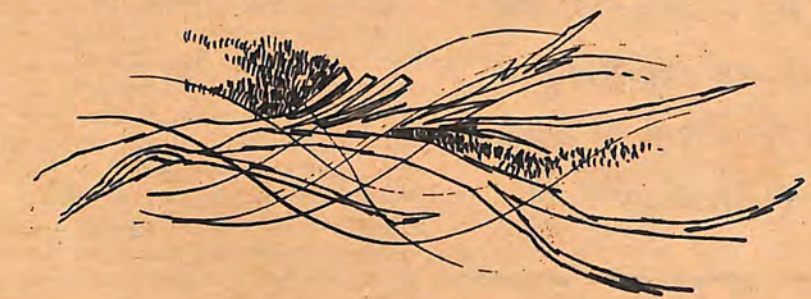
"... a candle burned on the table,
a candle burned"

— Pasternak

*wrap me, o crescendoing silk of the mourning night,
caress this bloated face in your billow dinning,
let my dancing unpillared feet suck your grieving lust
and let me go whole and leaping in your weary journeying.*

*nightly, i return to this spot of my mother's crimes,
and the hordes mangle the flesh she and i richly venomed
knowing not, o not, that the slayful kiss leaves the brine
that exacerbates the walled in fury of loin-soul exiled.*

*we whirl, and roll, both filling the unyielding plot
of our bones with the brief wind of our throb-sighs,*



*but they're never enough: each night longer moments plod —
out to where by day i fashion my dread device.*

*at midnight, i scream the ringing zenith of my pain,
i loll out my tongue, ravishing their hours with gutter joy,
and i am soon tired: they unsate yet complain
that the cheap-scented mouth must early ask the fatal toll.*

*i can't sing to morning: we have become estranged,
and i home vest with nothing and softly shiv'ring,
an exhausted weeping queen, all my hours again strained
to all the quiet terrors of caressing panting evening.*

is outside the context of the history of salvation. The presence of the Church in the State University should therefore be an *incarnational presence* in the sense that the Church should take flesh within the framework of the objectives and disciplines of the State University as such by taking an apostolic form relevant to the State University milieu. And the State University milieu is neither a Catholic university nor a hospital nor a parish milieu. It is a State University milieu with its own social and academic peculiarities. If the Church is to incarnate herself therefore in the State University milieu, the dynamics of her apostolate there has to take a form definitely peculiar to the State University context, and operationally different from the dynamics we familiarly employ, say, in a Catholic school or in a parish.

Religious Processions, Flag-waving Rallies Are Not Enough

Clerical paternalism, for example, which characterizes the pastor-parishioner relationship in our parishes today will not be tolerated even for one moment in a secular academic community any more than dogmatic pedantry which characterizes much of our Catholic pedagogy today will attract the intelligent believer. Even the church-groups and organizations in the State University cannot insist on running their activities along the tribal and strictly missionary lines, say, of the Confraternity of the Miraculous Medal or the Legion of Mary which may all produce relevant results in a parish but not in a State University the peculiar vocation of whose Catholic constituents is not missionary but intellectual apostolate.

The Church cannot bring over to the secular university her crusade-mentality by making herself heard merely through religious processions and flag-waving rallies, and making herself noticed merely through pins, uniforms, and stickers. The secular thinker is no longer impressed by these crowd-gimmicks. What he is looking for in the Church are the *People* who can individually prove that they are God's People by convincingly bearing witness to the validity of their Christian vocation through their intellectual excellence. The secular thinker in the State University is quick to notice the slightest evidence of intellectual mediocrity in the Church. He has no patience with so-called Catholic intellectuals whose only claim to intellectual activity is belligerent defense of the Church and her churchmen. He is amused by the nervous hostility of the Hierarchy toward those Catholics whose concept of loyalty to the Church involves not only a defensive militancy but also a creatively critical evaluation of both the good and the evils in the Church. The secular thinker today is convinced that there is no such thing as an intelligent Catholic because almost all the truly scholarly Catholics he knows and respects (artists, writers, professors, statesmen, student leaders, etc.) are being branded as subversives, or at least mediocre Catholics, by their own churchmen.

It is about time therefore that our churchmen woke up to the fact that much of what the secular thinker thinks about the Church today is indefensibly true. The Church in the secular university therefore must change that feudal image which has remained with her

since the days of the Inquisition. Those were the days when the Church was a ghetto-Church, a Church of Popes, bishops, and priests, a Church in which those who were not Popes, bishops, and priests were merely a flock of voiceless and subservient sheep. The Church today is a Church of many intelligent believers many of whom, let us admit, are even more intelligent than their churchmen. Churchmen today therefore cannot insist anymore that just because they are churchmen of an infallible Church, therefore, they should have the last word on everything from how to love,

court, and marry to how to win votes and influence rich people. The Church begins to look funny when her churchmen pretend to know all the answers. That is why Vatican Council II had to re-declare the biblical truth that the churchmen alone are *not* the Church, but they together with the rest of the People of God.

In a critical community like the secular university, the Church must therefore be the very first one to take notice of the medievalisms and irrelevancies in her own structure today, and she must be able to face them fearlessly and

humbly in a spirit of contrition and amendment. She must be able to enter into a creative dialogue with the secular world by sharing in the many secular dimensions of truth to which she can add her own spiritual dimensions toward the experience of one single reality. Actually this is nothing else but a more contemporary application of the Great Commandment. For charity is nothing else but a sincere attempt to enter into the mind and heart of another, and reverencing what the *other* thinks and loves by finding in him a valid reason to live together one common life.—#



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Sinulat ni MANUEL L. QUEZON, Jr.

Huwag tayong umasa na uunlad at titibay ang ating demokrasiya kapag

TUNGKULIN AT



AUTHOR ACCEPTS



● WHEN THE article, *Language: A People's Soul* (in two parts, GRAPHIC, Aug. 24 and 31), by Manuel L. Quezon, Jr., was published, little did GRAPHIC realize that it was setting off a rash of letter-writing from readers interested in the propagation of our national language.

In that article, Mr. Quezon said:

"Those who write and, in general, those who belong to intellectual circles would be doing a great service to the people if they were to start using Pilipino, even at the cost of some effort.

Unless they believe in establishing a kind of intellectual foreign-oriented elite from which the generality of the population are to be excluded, they must logically use more and more both to reach those who already know it well and to help spread it among those who do not."

Letters came pouring in from readers all over the country. Some wanted Mr. Quezon himself to translate into Pilipino his writings in English which had appeared in GRAPHIC. Others chided him for suggesting a worthwhile proposal but failing to follow it. Miss Elsa M. Luis of Paniqui, Tarlac, wrote:

"He (Mr. Quezon) writes and, I believe, he belongs to intellectual circles; therefore, he should have begun (practising what he was

● ANG LAKAD ng pag-iisip ng ating mga ninuno, noong bago pa dumating ang mga dayuhang puti sa ating lupa, ay di karakarakang matitiyak sa ating panahon.

Ang dahilan nito'y, sa ilalim ng iba't ibang watawat na sumakop sa atin, may mga pagbabago ng ugali na di maiiwasan. Kung minsan ang pagbabagong iyan ay naging sa ating kapakanan at kung minsan naman ay naging sa kapahamakan natin.

Isang paraan upang mabatid natin ang isip ng ating mga ninuno, pagkalipas ng halos limang daang taon, ay ang pag-aaral ng kahulugan at pinanggalingan ng mga salita ng ating wika.

Gamitin natin ang isang halimbawa sa wikang Latin. Sa kasalukuyan, ang salitang "Senador" ay walang ibang kahulugan kundi ang isang kinatawan ng bayang kabilang sa ba-

hagi ng Kongreso na tinatawag na Senado. Subalit ang salitang Senado ay binango sa salitang Latin na "Senatus," ang pagpupulong ng mga "senex," ang mga matatanda, na may karapatang gumawa ng mga batas para sa bayang Romano sa mga unang panahon.

Samakatuwid, sa mungkahi ng mga dating Romano, ang may karapatang magsabi kung ano ang dapat gawin o sundin ng bayang Romano ay ang mga matatanda na kinikilala at iginagalang ng madlang Romano.

Pagaralan natin ang mga salita na ginagamit natin sa mga nagpapalakad ng bayan, sapagka't diyan natin maki-kita na dapat nating ipagmalaki ang ugali at ang budhi ng ating mga ninuno.

Ang may kapangyarihan sa bayan ay sinasabing may katungkulan. Ano ang kahulugan ng salitang yaon?

Ang salitang katungkulan ay hango sa salitang tungkulin, ang karapatdapat gawin ng may pinananagutan.

Samakatuwid, ang nasa katungkulan ay isang tao na may tungkuling dapat tuparin sa paglilingkod sa kaniyang nasasakop.

Diyan natin mauunawaan na, ayon sa ating mga ninuno, ang kapangyarihan ay hindi napapasakamay ng isang tao upang gamitin niya at samantalain niya sa sariling kapakanan, kundi sa kapakanan ng kaniyang mga nasasakop.

Gayon din ang salitang karapatan. Ang karapatan ay ang dapat, maging dapat gawin o iwasan ng maykarapatan, maging ang dapat kilanlin sa may karapatan.

Samakatuwid, ayon sa isip ng ating mga ninuno, may mga dapat igalang sa bawat isa, at sa paggawa naman ng bawat isa'y nauukol na kaniyang kilan-

lin kung hanggang saan siya maaring umabot sa kaniyang pagkilos at paggawa. Ang labis doon ay hindi na karapatan, sapagka't hindi na dapat.

Kapag hinalungkat natin ito, mauunawaan natin na, ayon sa ating mga ninuno, ang karapatan ng bawat isa ay hindi kalayaang gumawa ng kahit na ano, maging mabuti, maging masama. Ang kalayaan ay ayon sa karapatan lamang nauukol na gamitin, sa karapatdapat. Ang paghigit doon ay paglabag na sa tunay na kalayaan, sapagka't makasisira sa karapatan ng tao.

Noong lusubin ng mga Amerikano ang ating bayan upang yurakan ang ating pagsasariling pambansa na unti-unti'y nababawi na natin sa mga Kastila, ang pagdadahilan na kinasangkapan ng mga Amerikano ay upang gawin daw tayong mga Kristiano (yamang matagal nang Kristiano ang karamihan ng mga Pili-

bawa't isa'y walang ini-intindi kundi ang sariling pakinabang lamang

KARAPATAN

A CHALLENGE

preaching) with his article. Granting — because it is the fact — that GRAPHIC uses English as its medium of communication, he could have asked a special favor that he may use Pilipino. If GRAPHIC would refuse, there are Pilipino magazines to turn to."

In answer to those of the first category of readers, Mr. Quezon expressed regrets he could not accommodate their suggestion. "Ang inyong nais na isalin ko sa Pilipino ang aking mga sinulat sa Ingles ay hindi ko pangangahasang gawin, sapagkat ang pagsasalin ay isa sa pinakamahirap na gawin ng isang manunulat, at ipinagtatapat ko na hindi ko kaya," he wrote.

Instead, taking a cue from readers of the same persuasion as Miss Luis, Mr. Quezon sought "special favor" from GRAPHIC and sent in the accompanying article as his answer to readers of the category. GRAPHIC, which (as you may have noticed) started last week running its editorials both in Pilipino and in English, was only too willing to oblige.

Of this article, Mr. Quezon has this to say:

"Here is an attempt at writing an article in Pilipino. Any criticism you have regarding the style or shallowness of treatment of the subject matter is fully justified. My purely Western-language education is perhaps an extenuating circumstance. I can only plead that I am trying to practise what I preach. My friends will testify that my conversational Pilipino is fluent and unmixed, although I write it clumsily."—#



pino), upang tayo'y maging sibilisado, (para bagang hindi pa tayo sibilisado ng panahong yaon), at tuturuan daw nila tayo ng demokrasiya.

Dapat nating ikahiya, mga kababayan, na hanggang ngayon ay mayroon pa tayong mga kalahi na tinatanggap at inuulit ang mga naturang maling pangangatuwiran. Inuulit nila at itinuturo nila sa iba, bilang mga loro na hindi iniisip ang kanilang sinasabi.

Huwag na lamang natin silang kaiinipen o kagalitan. Ayon sa pagkakawang-gawa sa kapuwa, na tungkulin nating lahat sa harap ng Panginoon at ng ating kapuwa tao, isipin na lamang natin na hanggang doon na lamang ang abot ng kanilang isip — hindi nagbubuhay sa kasamaan o sa pagkukulang sa karangalan ng ating bayan at lahi.

Subali't ang buong katotohanan ay maling-mali sila. Ang pamahalaan na

itinatag ng ating mga bayani, ang sagligang batas na ipinatalastas sa Malolos, ay ayon sa demokrasiya, ayon sa mga simulain at patakaran ng demokrasiya, na hinango sa iba't ibang aral ng mga tagapagtanggol ng kalayaan, sa mga aral ng Pananampalataya na nagtuturo na lahat tayo ay magkakapatid sapagkat anak tayong lahat ng Maykapal, at ayon din sa isip at simulain ng ating mga ninuno, na kumikilala na ang tao ay nasa kapangyarihan upang tumupad sa mga tungkulin sa kaniyang nasasakop at ang mga nasasakop naman ay malayang gumawa ng ayon sa kaniyang karapatan, sa "dapat" niyang isagawa tungkol sa nasa katungkulan at sa ibang mga kapuwa.

Ano pang batayan ng demokrasiya ang maituturo sa atin ng mga Amerikano?

Subali't isinasagawa kaya ngayon ang mga napakagandang simulaing yaon?

Masakit kilanlin, subali't ang katotohanan ay napakaraming nasa katungkulan na nakalilimot: ang layunin ng katungkulan ay ang pagtupad sa tungkulin sa bayan, hindi ang pananatili sa kapangyarihan upang magpayaman o upang pagsikapan ang sariling kapakanan, kahit na mapahamak ang kapuwang mamayan, o lalong mapalubog sa hirap.

Sa kabilang panig naman, nililimot din ng maraming mamamayan na ang kanilang karapatan ay tungkulin din, ang paggamit ng kanilang kalayaan sa nararapat lamang, hindi sa ibang bagay, sapagkat ang paggamit ng kalayaan sa ibang bagay ay hindi tunay na kalayaan kundi ang pagsira at paglabag sa tunay na kalayaan na siyang isang pinakamahalagang biyaya ng Panginoon sa tao.

Nauukol na pagkuru-kuruan ng bawat isa, maging ang nasa katungkulan,

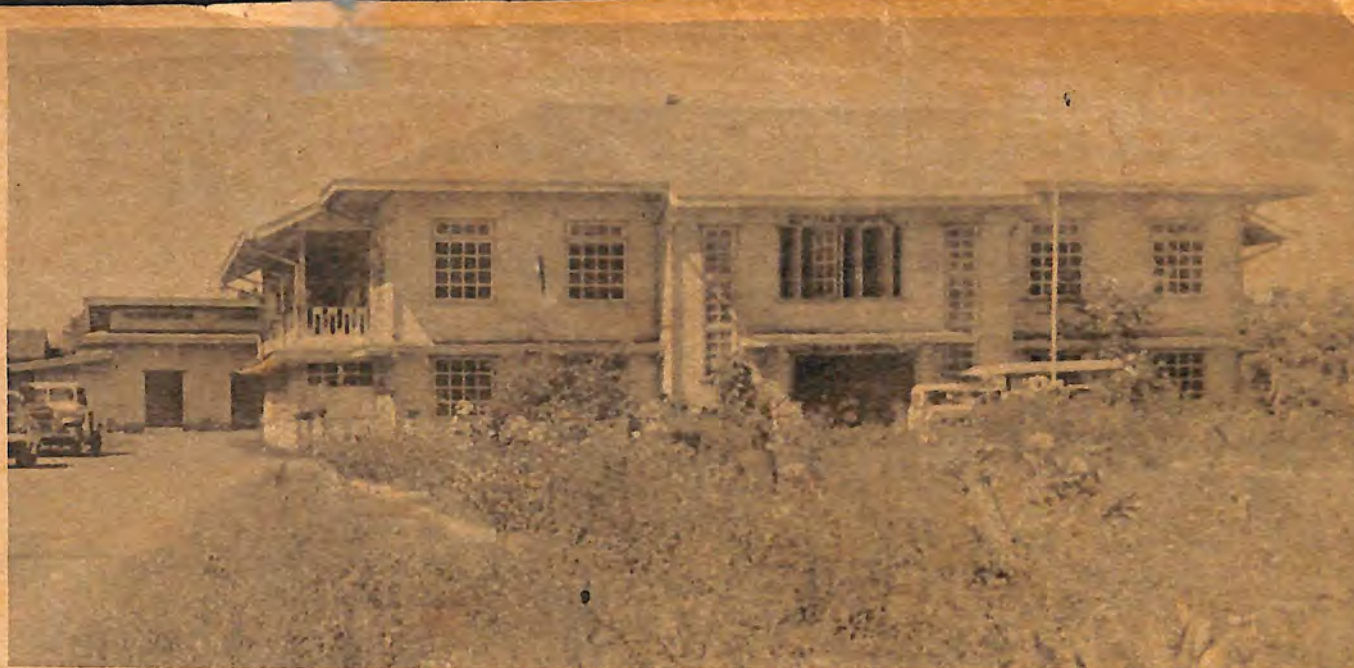
maging ang pangkaraniwang mamamayan, kung ano ang kaniyang ginagawa, kung paano ang kaniyang paggamit ng kaniyang kalayaan sa kaniyang pamumuhay.

Huwag nating akalain na bubuti ang tayo ng bayan, huwag tayong umasa na uunlad at titibay ang ating demokrasiya, kapag bawa't isa'y walang ini-intindi kundi ang sariling kapakinabangan lamang, kung hindi iisipin ng bawa't isa, at isasagawa, ang pagtupad sa sariling tungkulin, ang paglilingkod sa bayan ng nasa katungkulan, at ang paggamit ng mamamayan ng kaniyang kalayaan at karapatan sa ikabubuti ng kapuwa, maging mataas at marangal, maging aba at dukha.

Ang ating demokrasiya ay mabubuhay lamang kapag palaging iniisip ng lahat ang kahulugan ng salitang "katungkulan" at "karapatan."—#

A CRIMINAL NEGLECT!

by **EFREN P. MOLINA**
Butuan City



BUTUAN PUBLIC HOSPITAL

The imposing front notwithstanding, this neglected building is due to collapse

● THE BUTUAN public hospital is a picture of official neglect. In 1963, a team of government building inspectors declared the hospital unsafe for further use and recommended its immediate demolition. Up to now, nothing has been done about it.

It appears strong from outside but widespread "anay" infestation caused many parts of the building to sag. Repair work, which will entail no less than P30,000, is considered futile and uneconomical, considering the extent of deterioration of the building.

According to Dr. Salvador B. Legas-

pi, hospital chief, the cost of repair will be more than 50 per cent of the amount needed to construct a new building. There will be a chain of repairs unless a new building is constructed, he said.

Aggravating the deplorable condition of the building is the lack of good sewerage and a raging controversy over ownership of the hospital site among the heirs of the donors. The city government of Butuan, too, has not been remitting its share for the maintenance of the hospital.

The hospital originally had a 15-bed capacity but it was enlarged to 75 due

to the influx of patients coming from as far as Leyte del Sur, Leyte del Norte, Surigao del Sur, Surigao del Norte, Misamis Oriental, and upper Agusan towns. During the 1963 floods which lasted for 55 days, the hospital was half-submerged under water and the patients from the ground floor had to be transferred to the second floor. Presently, some hospital patients are housed in the P45,000-Butuan hospital dispensary donated by ex-Governor Democrito O. Plaza to lessen the load of the main building.

Apparently touched by the sad state

of the hospital, Agusan Governor Consuelo V. Calo recently made strong representations with the secretary of health through Dr. Vicente Gahol, regional health director, to expedite the immediate release of P385,000 earmarked for the construction of a new hospital building. The amount is appropriated under various sources.

How soon can the people of Agusan have a new hospital building? Indeed, the secretary of health must do something before the deteriorating building will collapse.—#

MIGUEL MALVAR

by **ISIDRO C. GREGORIO**
Aliaga, Nueva Ecija

● ON September 27 the whole nation commemorated the 101st birth anniversary of Miguel Malvar, often referred to as the last Filipino general to surrender to the Americans during the Filipino-American War.

Much has been said of Malvar's gallantry in the battlefield, but he himself never dreamed of becoming a soldier, much less a general. After his studies, he engaged himself in farming and poultry raising in their farm in Santo Tomas, Batangas. An industrious farmer, he worked from sunup to sundown, resting only at high noon for his lunch which his pretty and equally industrious wife, Paula Maloles, prepared for him.

His remarkable industry and perseverance led Dr. Jose Rizal's eldest sister, Saturnina, to invest P1000 in a business and let him manage it for her. As she had expected, the business grew tremendously during the first few months. His business acumen became the talk of the neighboring communities.

When he had saved enough money, he bought a piece of land at the foot of Mt. Makiling. There he embarked on a new business venture — raising native oranges. It was at this stage of his life when the patriot in him dominated his desire to continue in business. He soon joined up with Andres Bonifacio in the war against Spain.

With the help of only a handful of local patriots, he raided the Spanish barracks in Talisay, Batangas. This in-

cident naturally angered the Spanish authorities who immediately demanded his head. He was forced to abandon his farm and hide in the wilderness of Mt. Makiling.

After offering his services to General Aguinaldo in 1897, Malvar gathered his relatives and friends and organized his own army and made himself its com-



GENERAL MALVAR
Gentleman soldier and farmer

mander. The 70-man strong group was equipped with a few shotguns, revolvers, and bolos.

Unable to get him, the Spaniards arrested his father, Don Ambrocio Maloles, instead and tortured him at their quarters at the base of Mt. Makiling.

Greatly infuriated, Malvar stormed the Spanish quarters, and rescued his father after routing the enemy.

Then came the "Pact of Biak-na-Bato," in which the revolutionary leader, Aguinaldo and 41 of his men left Biak-na-Bato for their voluntary exile in Hongkong. Malvar was among those who went into exile. But when Aguinaldo returned to the Philippines to join the American Asiatic Squadron under Commodore George Dewey, General Malvar and other Filipino patriots were left behind.

Somehow, General Malvar succeeded in returning to the Philippines at the time when General Aguinaldo was urging his own people to help America in fighting Spain. In recognition of his courage and ability, Aguinaldo appointed him brigadier-general of the Filipino forces in Tayabas (now Quezon), Batangas, and Laguna. His fine showing led to his promotion to the rank of commanding general of the revolutionary forces in 1899. Then when Aguinaldo was captured by the Americans on March 23, 1901, Malvar became the commander-in-chief of the whole Filipino army. On July 31, 1901, he issued

a stirring manifesto to the Filipino people. "Forward, without ever turning back! All wars for independence have been obliged to suffer terrible tests!"

As the struggle continued, the Filipino officers fell one by one, until only Malvar remained in the field. Confronted by a modern army, while his groaned under a sad lack of arms and provisions Malvar realized the hopelessness of the struggle. He surrendered to General George Bell, the commander of the American troops in Laguna, Tayabas, and Batangas, in Lipa on April 16, 1902.

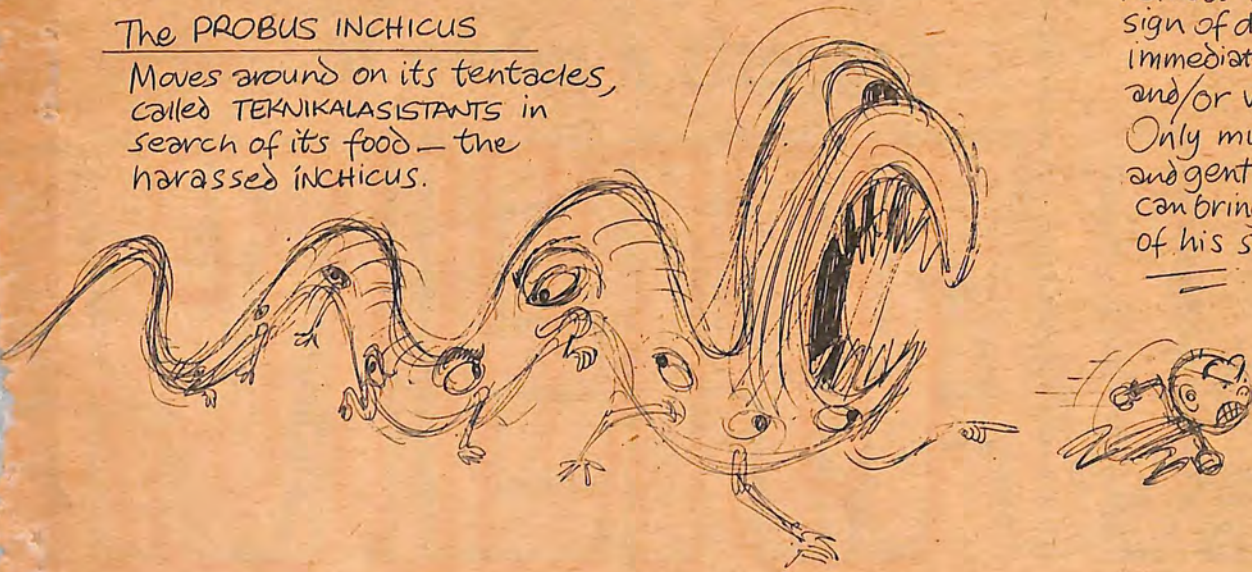
Following his surrender, he issued a proclamation which said that "the war carried on against the authority of the United States by the Filipino people has ended." He enjoyed all the Filipino soldiers "to stop from now on, all hostile operations and, with their arms, surrender to the nearest military authorities."

Civil government was established in Batangas on July 4, 1902. General Bell asked General Malvar to act as governor of the province, but the latter chose to go back to his farm.

Gen. Malvar died on October 13, 1911, at the age of 46 in Sta. Mesa, Manila. Present at his burial in his hometown, of Santo Tomas, were high ranking government officials. Representing Governor-General William Cameron Forbes was General George Bell, the American officer to whom he had presented himself.—#

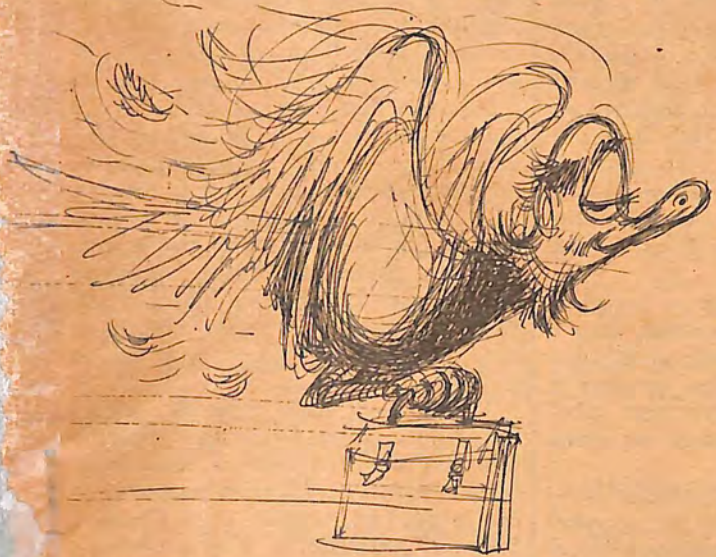
The PROBUS INCHICUS

Moves around on its tentacles, called TEKNIKALASISTANTS in search of its food — the harassed INCHICUS.



The MIGRATORY JUNKET-DAK

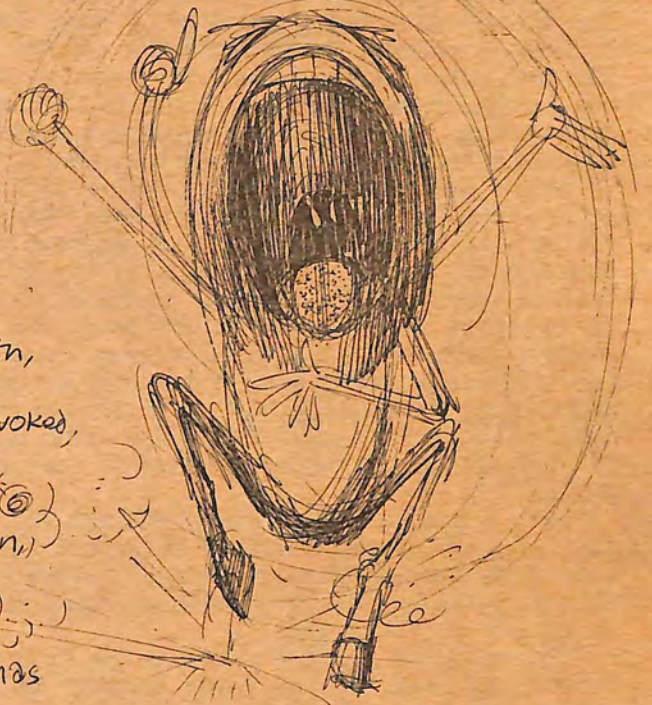
Habitats: Nightclubs, tourists spots abroad. Avoids places like Congress. Will fly away at the slightest invitation of a fellow zoolon.



The ORATUS DEBATUS

A zoolon with an enormous mouth, and a very loud war call like POINTOFORDER — when provoked, it pounds its hooves and utters unintelligible sounds like @ # % & * . While its eating habits are not known, it has a remarkable endurance and stamina for screaming.

A common specie, the FILIBUSTUS, has been observed at this activity for days without stopping.



The WEEPING POOR-VOTES-HAWND

Habitats: stricken areas such as those devastated by fire, flood and of late, species has been found in TAAL.

This zoolon has also been called CHAMPIONFIDIMASES because of its copious weeping when discussing the plight of the poor.



The Bejewelled PRIMADON A ELEGANTUS

Habitats: Beauty parlors, hen parties, tea parties, cocktail parties, ribbon-cutting ceremonies, and movie premieres.

(This magnificent zoolon is not to be confused with the LAKAMBINIS or the BLUE LADIES.)

It walks very daintily and makes very fine chatting sounds. It can, however, be very vicious when provoked and can be pacified only by flash bulbs.

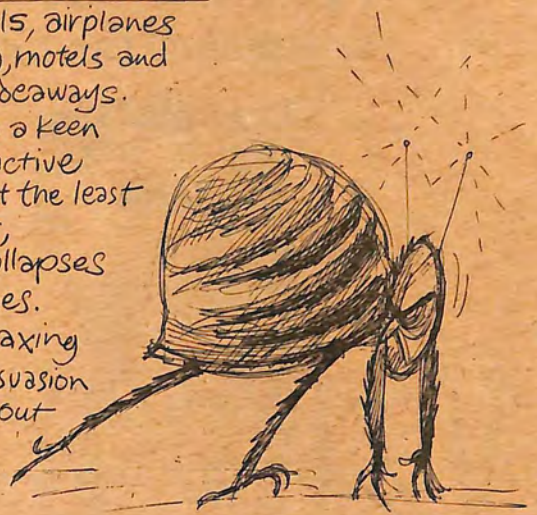


The HYPOCHONDRIUS EXEUNT

Habitat: Hospitals, airplanes (mostly American), motels and other secret hideaways.

This zoolon has a keen sense of instinctive retreat and at the least sign of danger, immediately collapses and/or vanishes.

Only much coaxing and gentle persuasion can bring him out of his shell.



STATE OF AFFAIRS

by ADRIAN E. CRISTOBAL



The Philippine Press

● A BLISTERING attack on the Philippine Press by Jose Ma. Sison was followed recently by Rudy Trinidad of UP campus in a letter to the publisher of the *Manila Times*. Trinidad called a large percentage of newspapermen "nothing but gossips, blackmailers, racketeers, tools of vested interests, free-loaders, malicious intriguers, and professional distortionists of news for commercial purposes."

"While they plunder on their victims at will for a black-mail price," Reader Trinidad continues, "they are protected by the law. Many of them are all-knowing brats, arrogant, and uncouth belonging to the 'cream' of Filipino (men and women) columnists, newsmen, commentators, and editors. Everybody who meets up with this group gets a cold running through his spine for fear, and becomes cautious in the presence of these 'untouchables.' A lucrative enterprise will have to maintain its 'untouchables' to survive as profit is evil to these people if they can't share in it. This is the picture of the majority in the media business as seen by a silent bystander."

I have heard these complaints, although not in the colorful language that Reader Trinidad has employed. I have heard them from businessmen, politicians, and friends — and the 'fear of newspapermen' is something that I have encountered personally now and then.

The inevitable conclusion is that the Philippine Press has become too powerful, and power corrupts the newspaperman as much as any other man.

But Reader Trinidad has missed another point: why the Tolentinos, the Tañadas, the (Vicente) Peraltas, the Manahans, the Manglapuses, to name a few, do not quake before newspapermen so described by him and have not been victimized in any way.

As a general rule, politicians and businessmen who are most intimately "lovey-dovey" with certain newspapermen are also those who do not merit the encomiums and protection they get. A few newspapermen of withering integrity have, to tell the sad truth, succumbed to them after an uphill fight for the barest economic security.

The hazards of the game are too various to enumerate. To the newspaperman of integrity, there is the threat to life and limb. To others, there is the cultivation of tastes and appetites fostered by association with the high and the mighty. All these are, of course, explanations, not justifications, but in the blurred moral system that we have now, one easily gets confused with the other.

A corrupt society, in other words, cannot expect to have a thoroughly uncorrupted press.

But, on balance, Reader Trinidad, as well as others who think as he does, still short-changes the Philippine Press. For the Philippine Press nevertheless enjoys a considerable amount of freedom, which can only be maintained if an important segment of it remains uncorrupted. He cannot deny that despite the managed news and distorted perspectives, the Big News get printed just the same, malefactors get exposed, and the electorate, of which Reader Trinidad is one, get the diverse opinions and important issues they need for making their final judgment.

For all its ills, the Philippine Press helps him — in a way that he cannot imagine — to exercise his freedom in a democratic society.

May 25, 1966
A PARLIAMENTARY APPROACH TO A C

In conclusion, author,
a political scholar,
suggests a return to

UNICA

● IT IS TOO glibly assumed that a single six-year term President will be a better Chief Executive than one with a four-year term qualified for reelection.

Let us suppose it is so. But let us not overlook the possibility of a good man who is elected and then makes one honest mistake after another, bungles the whole business of government without once being guilty of selfish ambition on partisanship. This would be a beautiful case of hell being paved with good intentions, that is, the hell of our national life would be paved with the President's good intentions — it would still be hell.

This is bad enough over a period of four years, it would be worse over a period of six. The proposed amendment, let all and sundry realize, involves a greater risk, if the advantages cited should fail to be realized in any given case.

I think we should consider the presidential term of office from the perspective of a very broad principle. A representative democracy should, as much as possible, govern in accordance with the sentiment of the people and be representative of the people insofar as this is practicable.

It is in the light of this principle and the problem of how to make the government more democratic that we should consider the President's term of office. I believe one way to implement this general principle would be to return to our original pre-amendment Constitution, but with really basic modifications. At the risk of sounding paradoxical or self-contradictory, I shall proceed.

Originally, we were to have a President elected for a single term of six years, and a single chamber legislature, the National Assembly, whose members, were to have a term of three years. Thus, the composition of the Second National Assembly would have reflected approval or disapproval of the first three years of the Administration. At any rate, such would be the case today, when we have two major parties more or less equal in power.

Of course (again studying the un-amended Constitution as it would operate today), the defeat of Administration candidates and the triumph of the Oppo-

sition, indicating popular repudiation of the Administration, could be ignored by the President, whose term would run another three years. These possibilities would then arise — either the President and the National Assembly would be deadlocked, or the President would have to win the National Assembly over, or the President would be content to go along with the National Assembly, an unlikely prospect. Only in the last, very unlikely event would government reflect popular sentiment. Naturally, if the Second National Assembly's composition showed popular support for the Administration in its first three years and therefore an endorsement for the next three, the government would reflect popular sentiment and there would be no problem in that line.

I believe we could make the government more responsive to the electorate and also solve the problem of the President's term of office by returning to the original framework of the Constitution and overhauling it in accordance with the needs of popular government and our particular characteristics as a people. The overhauling would be in accordance with the demand of the Senate President and others that a truly national Constitution be produced.

Suggestions

Suggestions seem to be in order — I shall make mine.

My basic outline would be as follows:

1) A return to unicameral system, that is, a legislature composed of a single chamber, not a Senate and a House of Representatives.

2) A six-year term for the members of the legislature like today's senators.

3) One-half of the legislature to be elected every three years (as one-third of today's Senate are elected every two years)

4) A six-year term for the President.

5) The President's term to end automatically if his Administration is repudiated after the first three years by losing its majority in the legislature.

6) Election of a new President by the new majority, to serve the remaining three years.

7) Direct popular election of the new President every six years.

UNICAMERALISM

The return to a unicameral legislature would make possible the assigning of credit or blame within the law-making body; that is, the majority could not point the accusing finger at another law-making body, as is possible today — it would have to face responsibility squarely and face the electorate squarely, on the basis of that responsibility.

Furthermore, and perhaps most important, a better balance of power would be achieved between the President and the legislature, not by weakening the President but by strengthening the legislature. The legislature is stronger in regards to the President when its power is concentrated in one House instead of being divided between two Houses. Also, experience has shown that the present form of the Senate allows for deadlocks too often, and gives to the man holding a deciding vote, an amount of power never intended in single members of Congress.

A Drain Of Talent

There is yet another consideration in favor of a single House. Because the Senate is considered the more important House, inasmuch as its individual members are more powerful than a congressman, there is a natural tendency for any congressman who gains prominence to try to "graduate" to the Senate. Thus, there is a drain of talent from the House of Representatives to the Senate. This would not be so bad if it did not often result in an able congressman running for the Senate and losing — thus depriving the country of his services unless he is appointed as a "lame duck."

The classical argument for an Upper House to act as a House of review of the acts of the Lower House is not decisive, because those who now exercise their leadership and moderation in the Senate would do so in the Lower House. As a matter of fact, it would be very difficult to prove that legislation passed by a unicameral legislature is poorer in quality than that passed by a bicameral legislature.

The six-year term for the legislators would be necessary so that some degree of coordination could be achieved with the presidential term. It would, of course, be possible to follow the original three-year term system but the individual

legislator would be faced with campaigning too frequently. As in the case of a six-year President, he would be able to concentrate on lawmaking more completely if campaigning were not so close at hand all the time.

The replacement of one-half of the legislature would make it more representative of public opinion, because it would more closely represent changes in public opinion. If the legislature were to prove unsatisfactory to the public, the electorate would take control from the majority by electing opposition candidates. If, however, the voters were satisfied, they would elect candidates belonging to the majority, thus keeping the majority in power. In other words, every three years the composition of the legislature could be brought into line with

Under this system, the President chosen by legislature should serve only three years...

the political tendency of the country.

The six-year term for the President would be advisable because long-range administration programs such as this country and all underdeveloped countries need cannot be completed in four years. It is not only personal ambition that can cause a four-year President to prepare for reelection at an early date; he may well feel it his duty to continue guiding his Administration's program to its completion or at least to near completion, which is not possible in four years but is entirely possible in six. Even if reelection after a six-year term were permitted, the President could still concentrate for a longer period of time on strictly presidential duties.

The trouble with a six-year presidential term is that, if his Administration should prove a failure — and failure betrays itself within one, two, or three

years, the country would have to continue suffering until the term of office ends. That is the reason for removing the President after three years if he loses the majority in the legislature. An Administration really stands or falls, depending on the legislation for which it is responsible.

If the President loses his majority in the legislature, it would show that his program of government to which the legislature gave existence through laws was judged a failure by the people.

I do not mean that all his programs in economics, education, national defense, etc. should have been completed in three years. I pointed out above that major programs cannot be completed in a short time. The failure would consist in the non-completion of projects which could and should have been completed in a short time but were not, and in the failure of long-range projects to have advanced as far as they could reasonably be expected to advance. The major projects are precisely the ones in which the population are most capable of judging.

To take an example, a program to bring wages and prices into balance may take time, but if the situation has not improved perceptibly in three years, even a relatively ignorant voter can tell — his life has not grown less hard.

Thus, if the Administration is judged a failure by the voters, and control of the legislature passed to the Opposition, the President would also automatically cease holding office and the new majority in the legislature would elect a new President who would help carry out the new mandate. It would be impractical for the people to elect the new President because that would involve holding a national election right after another general election. To allow the President to continue would lead to difficulties inherent in the original Constitution, as indicated above.

The President chosen by legislature should, however, serve only three years at which time the people would again elect a President by direct vote. This would preserve the basic principle practice of electing the President by direct vote. The danger of a President being elected who would be on the opposite side from the new majority in the legis-

lature would be slight, since again one-half of the legislature would be elected, reflecting satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the previous Administration. The satisfaction or dissatisfaction would also be reflected in the election of the President.

This does not happen now, because of the bicameral and presidency-centered system we have. In the proposed system, greater importance would shift to the unicameral legislature, our government would be legislature rather than presidency-centered. It would be colored less by personality than Administration programs so the choice of a President would be decided on the basis of the choice of program for the legislature. This would also seem a movement in the direction of greater democracy, since there would be greater power in the hands of the legislature rather than in the hands of one man, the President, without adopting the Parliamentary concentration of all power in the legislature, which here could easily lead to legislative excesses.

A Continuing Mandate

I do not say the system I propose is fool-proof — no human system is. Nor do I think I would be seriously considered, as it involves too great a departure from existing practice here and anywhere. But it would practically eliminate the danger of an electioneering President since his continuation in office after three years would depend not on his campaigning but on his Administration's obtaining a continuing mandate in the legislature, which could only be done by means of a satisfactory program carried out successfully.

A bar to more than six years would be a matter of opinion since reelection of the President would still depend, although not so absolutely, on a satisfactory Administration. If the Administration is satisfactory, why not another term?

The determining factor for or against a ban on reelection should then be whether or not the intra-party squabbles for the nomination would be harmful to our political life, as being (possibly) conducive to pre-election intrigues between President and legislature.—#



INSIDE RUSSIA

Above: Gemma Cruz Araneta inspects a *Filipiniana* material in a Russian museum. Below: Antonio S. Araneta, Jr. exchanges views with Dr. B. Gafuron, director of Oriental Studies Institute (opposite Araneta), and Dr. Lewinson (partly covered), a Russian specialist in Philippine affairs. Right: The Red Square and the Saint Basil cathedral.



The Philippines in Russia

by Dr. A. GUBER
and Dr. G. LEWINSON

● THE EARLIEST mention of the Philippines found in Russian diplomatic documents relates to the very first years of the reign of Catherine II and refers to the Anglo-Spanish dispute on the so-called "Manila debt". According to the Paris Peace Treaty of 1763, Britain undertook to return the Philippines, which she had occupied during the Seven Years' War, to the Spanish Crown. Soon the British Government demanded of Spain that she pay two million *pistres* on account of the promissory note given by the Archbishop of Manila as indemnity to the commander of the British troops in the Philippines, Colonel Draper, but the Royal Court of Madrid rejected this claim and on its own part insisted on the return of a Spanish vessel seized by the British in the port of

Manila.

The dispatches of the Russian representatives in London, Madrid, and the Hague from 1763 to 1766 reveal all *peripeteias* in the Anglo-Spanish dispute that came to their knowledge through personal conversations with the ministers and diplomats of both countries and the study of documents that passed through their hands. We learn much from these dispatches regarding the sufferings that befell the inhabitants of the Philippines as a result of the struggle between the two colonial Powers; the pillage and outrages committed by the British forces in Manila, the suppression by the British of the "rebellion of the inhabitants of the Manila Islands," the attempts of the Spanish colonial authorities headed by the Archbishop to pay off the con-

querors through additional taxation of the Philippine population. Worthy of note is a document appended to a dispatch from the Russian Ambassador to London (published at that time but still a great rarity): a letter from Colonel Draper to Lord Halifax outlining the circumstances of Manila's capture and the negotiations of the British with the Archbishop of Manila.

Another part of the 18th century documents describes the conflict between Spain and Holland in connection with the establishment of the Philippine Royal Company in 1785.

Two reports (1767 and 1770) by the Russian Ambassador to Madrid, Stakeberg, provoke curiosity; in the first, he writes in detail of the existing plans to establish the Philippine Company and